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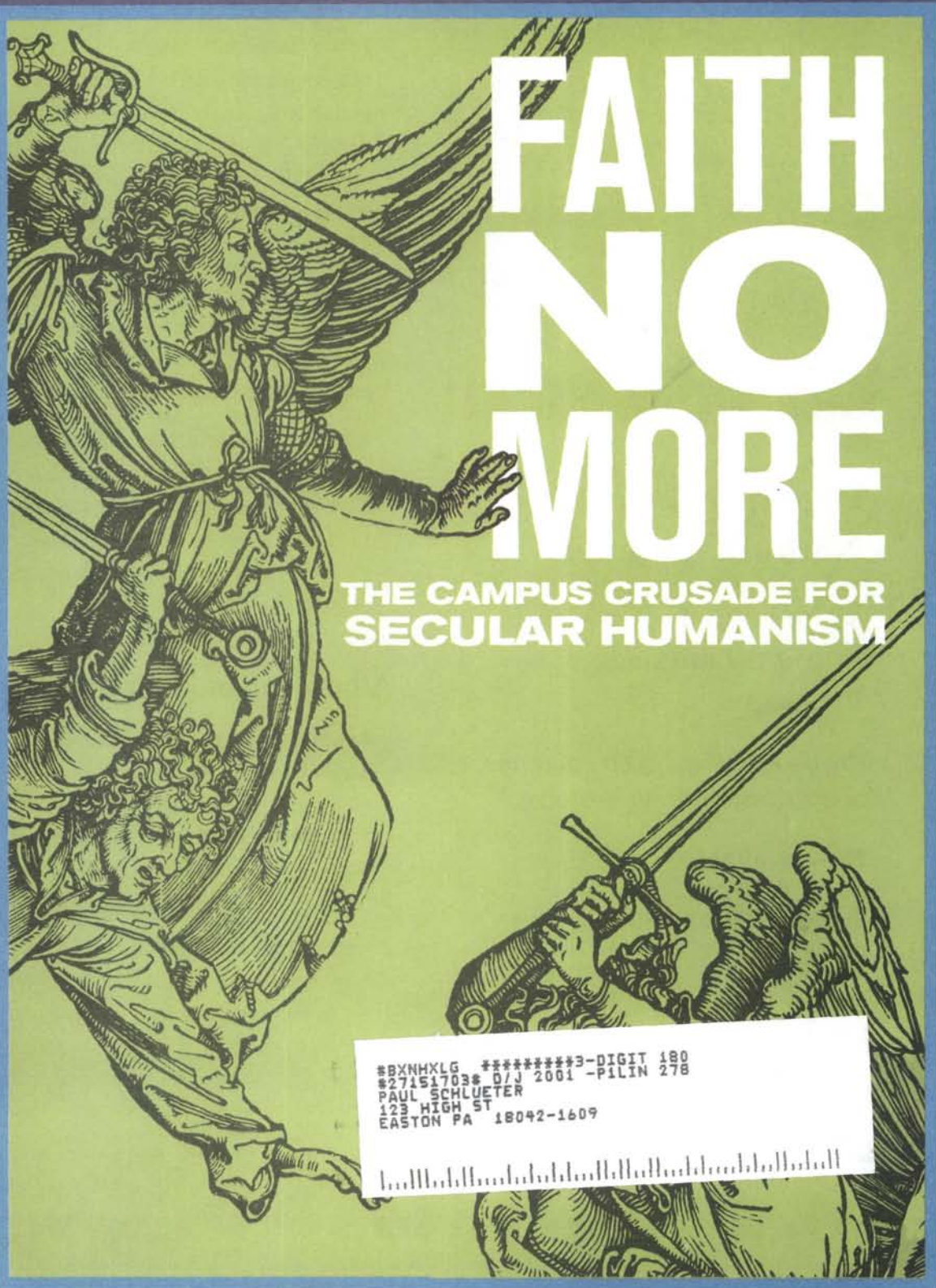

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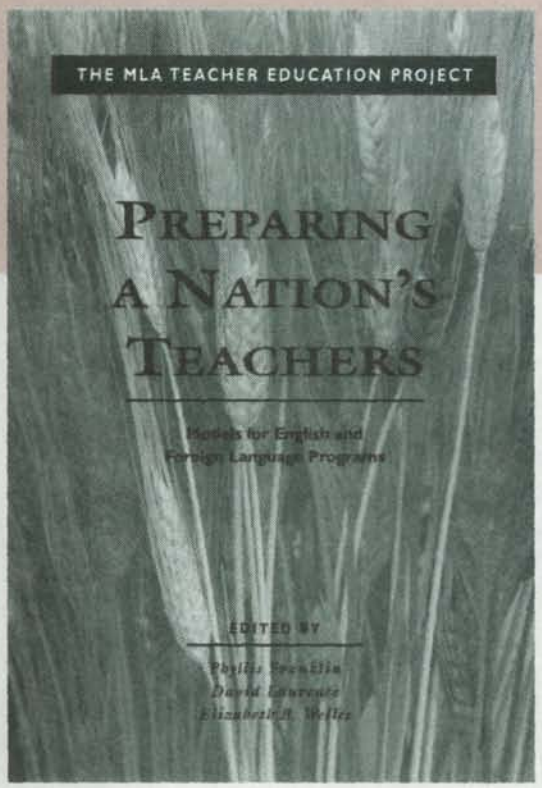
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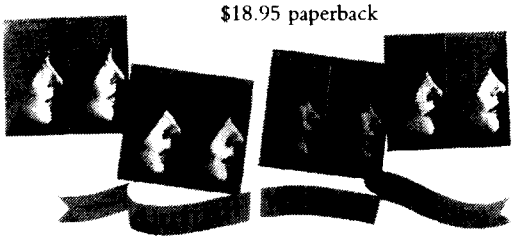

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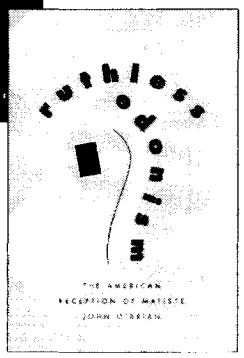

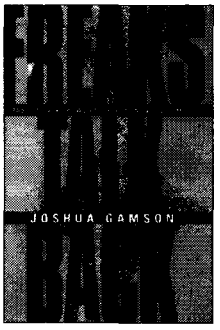

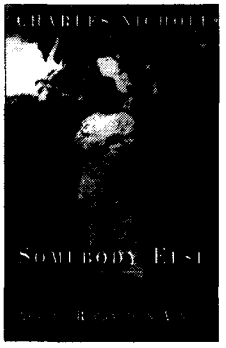

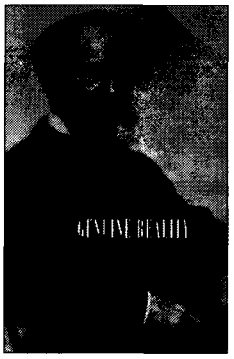

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Table of Contents

FEATURES

30 FAITH NO MORE
As the number of religious students swells on American campuses, college atheists say they are increasingly under siege. Three years ago, secular humanist philosopher Paul Kurtz decided to do something about it. Now his Campus Freethought Alliance (CFA) has a growing membership at dozens of schools, a group house in upstate New York, and a calendar of festivities celebrating everything from Darwin's birthday to the decline of superstition. Is the CFA a genuine alternative to faith? Or just another form of groupthink?
BY EMILY NUSSBAUM

38 INFIDELITY
Novelist Milan Kundera survived a communist dictatorship in his native country to become the world's best-known Czech emigré. Today, he is dependent on an adoring Western audience that knows his work primarily in translation. But Kundera doesn't trust translators to represent his novels accurately. So after years of feuding with them and publicly repudiating their work, he is trying another solution. No longer content just to *retranslate* his books, he is actively *rewriting* them. Can anyone stop him?
BY CALEB CRAIN

53 THE RADOSH FILE
Fifteen years ago, Ronald Radosh co-authored a classic account of the Rosenberg case, concluding that Julius Rosenberg was guilty of atomic espionage. The onetime radical historian was promptly excommunicated by many of his colleagues. But today he is preparing a book that promises to ignite just as much controversy: a daringly revisionist account of the Spanish civil war.
BY SCOTT SHERMAN

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DEPARTMENTS

7 LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

8 FIELD NOTES
Girl guides/Teaching Goldman Sachs to write/Fighting for a grade, and more

16 BREAKTHROUGH BOOKS
The essay

19 INSIDE PUBLISHING
The philosophy 'zine/Hitchhiking lizards/Life as a dog

66 CONFERENCES

68 HYPOTHESES
Jim Holt restores teleology to its rightful place.

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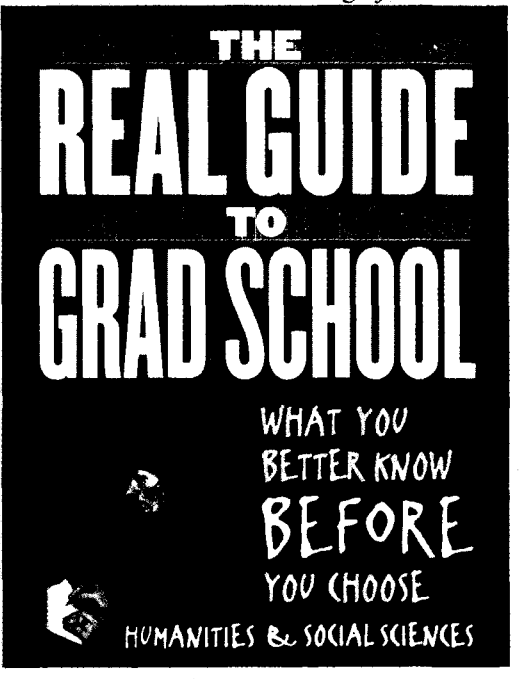

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YOU, RIGOBERTA MENCHÚ

I'm disappointed by Hal Cohen's story ["The Unmaking of Rigoberta Menchú," July/August] about the controversy over my book *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*. Your magazine printed serious accusations about my methodology that Cohen never presented to me for a reaction. Where did a graduate student named Carlota McAllister get the idea that I interrogated peasants with questions like "To what degree did you willingly support the guerrillas"? That is not how I talked with Guatemalans about their experiences. Another graduate student, named Paul Yamauchi, is appalled that, in one of four towns where I've worked, I invited Mayan peasants to dine with me at a *pensión*. From that he leaps to the conclusion that I did my interviewing in public spaces, where Maya would be afraid to tell me how they felt.

The fact is that, at the *pensión* in question and in a variety of settings, including homes, many Mayan Indians told me about the terrible killing that the army committed in the early 1980s. Many of them also said they had supported the guerrillas. Whatever they didn't tell me, my books demonstrate that they told me a lot. Peasant complaints about being "caught in the crossfire" or "between two armies" are, as my books point out, not necessarily the last word on the violence. But they deserve far more attention than some of my colleagues want to give them.

Cohen is correct that my book is cause for embarrassment, but he doesn't quite grasp who should be embarrassed. It is anyone who feels that, seventeen years after Rigoberta Menchú narrated the most widely read book about Central America, and seven years after she won the Nobel Peace Prize, it is too early to compare her version of events with what her neighbors have to say. I was not expecting *Lingua Franca* to add to the last six months of rationales for this position. That a magazine dedicated to questioning political correctness should defend it in the case of Rigoberta is quite a testimony.

Cohen suggests that I should have withheld the problems with Rigoberta's story out of respect for the Guatemalan truth commissions. That sounds like the Guatemalan army's approach to truth—to be acknowledged only when convenient. To suggest that challenging Rigoberta's story has reactionary implications, Cohen plays up the modest amount of right-wing editorializing that my book has provoked, with an emphasis on the McCarthy-style raving of David Horowitz. For the price of a few attack ads in college newspapers, Horowitz was rewarded with the lead of a *Lingua Franca* story. No one would pay the least attention to him if he didn't provide an excuse to discourage discussion.

Some of Cohen's assessments—for example, that I "never acknowledge that the government helped to create the Maya's unhappy predicament" and "refus[e] to consider the political context of [my] words"—are silly. Anyone who reads my book will note detailed accounts of the government's land-titling system, as well as of its death squads and massacres, plus enough agonizing over the political implications of challenging the laureate's story to make some readers impatient.

Because *I, Rigoberta Menchú* is easy to defend as truthful on some levels, it will not be unmade by comparing it with other accounts or showing how it served the guerrilla movement. Nor has Rigoberta been unmade as an indigenous hero. The only casualties of this debate are literal interpretations and threadbare assumptions that no one in academia admits to holding anyway.

DAVID STOLL
Assistant Professor of Anthropology
Middlebury College

I read Hal Cohen's piece with interest. As always, I am impressed by the excellent writing in your publication. It is distinguished by excellent

continued on page 64

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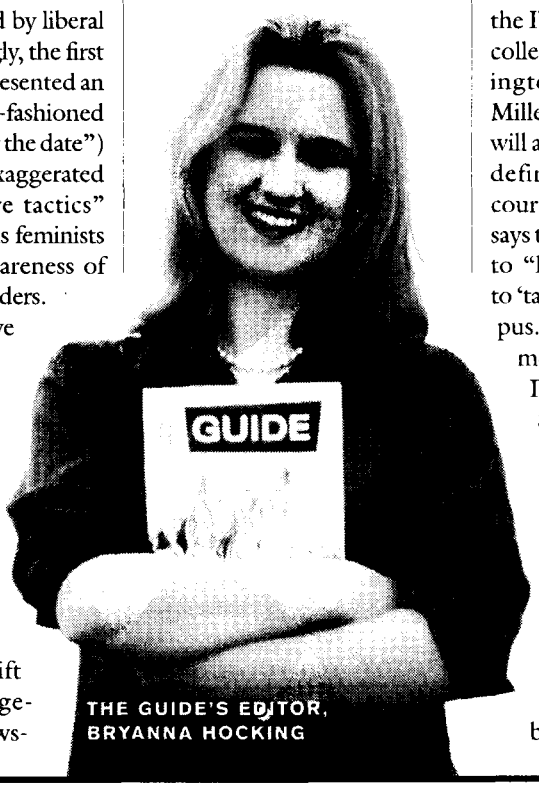
LADIES OF THE RIGHT

"IF YOU WANT TO CONQUER the world (and men)...remember, the tigress who knows when to roar also knows when to purr."

These words appeared two years ago in the premier issue of *The Guide: A Little Beige Book for Today's Miss G.* Replete with 1950s-style illustrations, this cheeky introduction to life at Georgetown University purported to introduce a conservative and traditionally feminine voice to a campus where women's politics, the editors felt, were dominated by liberal feminists. Accordingly, the first issue of *The Guide* presented an odd mixture of old-fashioned advice ("hold out for the date") and attacks on the exaggerated statistics and "scare tactics" employed by campus feminists to raise student awareness of rape and eating disorders. To offer an alternative to the school's freshman orientation materials on such issues, *The Guide*'s editors slipped their magazine under the dorm-room doors of first-year women.

The response to *The Guide* was swift and hostile. Georgetown's campus newspaper, *The Hoya*, teemed with commentaries and letters—many from students who claimed that the new magazine was "dangerous": "Perhaps," read one sarcastic letter, "the recommended 'purring' has been an effective deterrent for date rape, sexual assault, and the like." The letter was signed by seven students and a professor of English and women's studies. Georgetown's student-elected assembly issued an advisory, calling parts of *The Guide* "controversial and questionable."



THE GUIDE'S EDITOR, BRYANNA HOCKING

ROBERT SEVERI

The Guide certainly grabbed headlines, but at the time, the controversy seemed to have more to do with sexual politics at Georgetown—a liberal arts school ill at ease with its Roman Catholic identity—than with any broader movement. Today, it seems that something larger is afoot: Last year, *Portia*, a sister magazine to *The Guide*, was born at Yale, and this fall, a similar publication will appear at Smith. All of these magazines are financed by the Independent Women's Forum (IWF), a right-of-center women's organization in Washington, D.C., which hopes to unleash a wave of conservative women's magazines on college campuses by the fall of 2000.

In pursuit of willing editors, the IWF plans to host an intercollegiate conference in Washington this February. "The Millennium Girl Conference" will address two of the group's defining issues: dating and courtship. One IWF member says the conference is intended to "launch a new movement to 'take back the date'" on campus. "I think that this is the most important thing that IWF can do," says Ricky Silberman, the chair of the IWF board.

Founded in 1992, the IWF sees its central mission as taking on "the old feminist establishment" in the press and the courts. According to the group's literature, the interests of women are best served by a gender-

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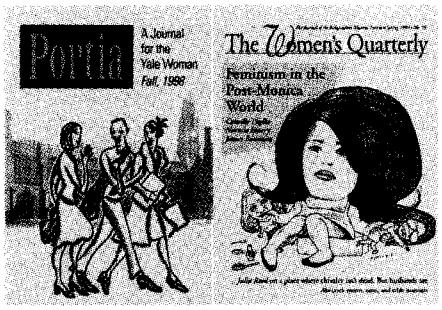
blind approach to public policy: The IWF opposes affirmative action, the federal Violence Against Women Act, and Title IX, which it calls "a crusade to impose unfair quotas in schools." But when it comes to the private sphere, the IWF exchanges gender blindness for gender consciousness. Women, IWF members profess, are biologically propelled toward motherhood, whereas men are predisposed to resist commitment. Many traditional social customs recognize these differences, they believe, and these customs are worth upholding. "Does public autonomy have to mean private autonomy?" asks Amy Holmes, the IWF's liaison to campuses. "Maybe not. Maybe a woman does need a man."



COURTESY INDEPENDENT WOMEN'S FORUM

University culture has proven a strange laboratory for the IWF's ideas. The student editors of the new conservative women's magazines closely resemble their feminist peers in their career ambitions. At the same time, however, they embrace values from a decidedly pre-feminist era: femininity, gallantry, modesty, even chastity. Deborah Schmuhl, the editor of Yale's *Portia*, maintains that the conservative women's movement is feminist at heart. "The entire staff of *Portia* is proud, without any hesitation, to call ourselves Feminists," she wrote in a fall 1998 editorial. "It is our belief that true feminism does not attempt to silence or limit the expression of any opinions." Of course, the opinions *Portia* sets forth could not be further from those of Yale's liberal feminists. An article called "Putting the 'Femme' Back Into Feminism" argues that feminists have devalued motherhood and "bullied" women into pursuing careers.

> The IWF hopes to launch a movement to "take back the date" on campus.

Conservative though it sounds, Schmuhl's magazine won the endorsement of her friends at Yale's left-leaning Women's Center, where Schmuhl was once the coordinator. At Smith, however, the forthcoming conservative women's magazine may face much sharper political opposition. Erin McGlinchey, the editor-to-be, headed Smith's Republican club her junior year. As a freshman, she had felt like a fish out of water with her conservative Roman Catholic views in a dorm that she says was "70 percent lesbian." But after she left for summer break, McGlinchey discovered that her opinions were even more unpopular than she realized: Her roommate had filed a bias complaint against her for comments she had made opposing gay marriage.

McGlinchey has certainly not abandoned her views. If anything, the bias-complaint incident convinced her of the need for a counterweight to Smith's prevailing political culture—something she hopes to provide with her as-yet-unnamed magazine. McGlinchey's magazine, like the Georgetown *Guide*, will offer a cautionary account of campus rituals like Celebration of Sisterhood Day and Coming Out Day. Nonetheless, the "lesbian issue," she says, "is a touchy one" that she hopes will not become the magazine's "whole focus."

The IWF's Holmes is excited about McGlinchey's project. The magazine "may or may not address the administration-sponsored lesbian propaganda and what they feel is the oppression of heterosexuals," she says with obvious excitement. Should the need arise, she adds, the IWF could offer McGlinchey legal assistance.

But while the editors of the new conservative campus women's magazines may see themselves as members of an embattled minority fighting the feminist academy, campus feminists believe the opposite is true. Genevieve Villamora, a recent Georgetown graduate who served on the board of the school's Women's Center, sees the IWF's protégées as beneficiaries of powerful political alliances. "For me, the most upsetting thing is that *The Guide* is not a true student organization," she says. "There's a larger agenda at work, and with substantial funding, their side can get access to a lot of things that the average student group would not have access to."

Ricky Silberman defends the IWF's efforts to spread its message onto campuses. "We can put Op-Eds in the paper, we can put women on television, we can raise a different voice," she says. "But unless we get into this university culture, we are doomed to continue to be looked upon as second-class citizens."

SARAH BLUSTAIN

THE DEGRADING

FOR MOST AMERICANS, THE Gulf War was a six-week affair that came and went in the winter of 1991. According to Jean Baudrillard, it never happened at all. But for Montclair State University sociologist Barbara Chasin, the Gulf War became an eight-year legal battle that only ended this summer.

The trouble began when New Jersey passed the Desert Storm Law in 1991. The statute mandated that college students called to war should

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receive final grades based on the course work they had already done, provided they had already completed eight weeks' work. In the fall of 1990, Marine reservist James Lloyd, then a freshman at Montclair State, attended thirteen weeks of Chasin's fifteen-week course, "The Sociology of Rich and Poor Nations." Before he was called to the Gulf in December of that year, he was given a quiz and a midterm, on both of which he scored well. At that time, he signed Chasin's "Incomplete Contract," assuring the professor that he would either take her make-up final exam or write a final essay upon his return. But when he came back to Montclair, Lloyd refused to complete the course work. Instead, citing the Desert Storm Law, he demanded an A in the course.

"I was just trying to get back into the swing of things," says Lloyd, now a lawyer in Philadelphia. "Writing the final essay, when the statute had been passed that entitled me to a grade, didn't seem necessary. I had just spent nine months serving this country."

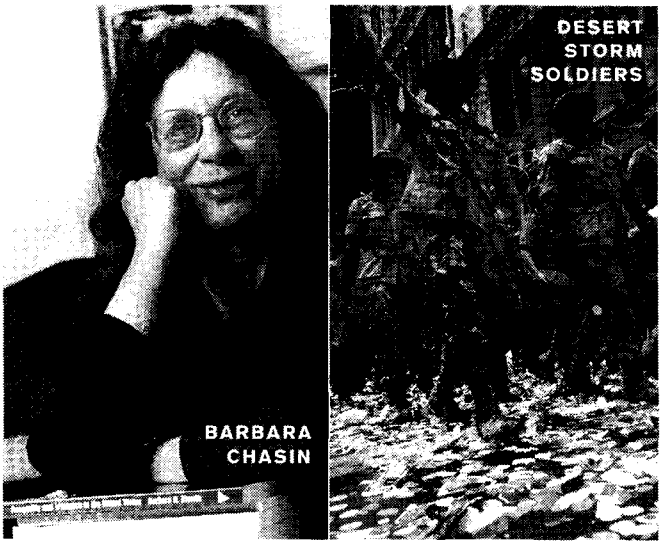
But to Lloyd's surprise, Chasin did not acquiesce. Instead, she gave him an incomplete in the course. Convinced that Chasin was withholding his grade due to her own "antiwar beliefs," Lloyd petitioned Montclair and then filed suit against Chasin and the school in 1992.

Chasin, the author of *Inequality and Violence in the United States: Casualties of Capitalism* (Humanity Books, 1998), stuck to her guns. "My feelings about the Gulf War have nothing to do with it," she insists. Rather, she says, statute or no statute, "I felt it was an infringement of my academic freedom that Lloyd was telling me how to grade him."

The sociologist thought that Montclair State would be eager to lend its moral support to what she saw as an effort to beat the state legislature back from the doors of the professoriat. "I don't think the state should mandate how we treat our students," she says. But Chasin had violated a state law, and the university did not endorse her position. Although Lloyd's suit was dismissed, the university reached a settlement with him in 1994: He was given an A minus. "Montclair gave Lloyd his grade because the plain language of the law was clear," says the university's counsel, Valerie Vanbaaren.

But that was not the end of the matter. By the time the Lloyd case was settled, Chasin and her union, American Federation of Teachers Local 1904, had themselves amassed $12,000 in legal fees. Chasin believed they were entitled to a reimbursement. In 1995 she filed suit against the state under New Jersey's Tort Claims Act, which stipulates that state employees be given free legal representation in work-related cases. A lower court found in her favor, ruling that the state should repay Chasin's fees. But the case eventually found its way to the New Jersey Supreme Court, which determined that Chasin's original behavior qualified as willful disregard for state law and was not covered by the Tort Claims Act.

Chasin's lawyer, Paul Schacter, believes his client's case failed because state employees can only be indemnified "if they are sued for damages, and grades are not damages." But according to Michael Olivas, a professor of law at the University of Houston and an expert on higher education legal issues, New Jersey's taxpayers would not have been responsible for repaying Chasin's legal fees regardless. Says Olivas: "Barbara Chasin actually violated a clearly established state law when she withheld Lloyd's grade. It would be strange if she were reimbursed for money she spent on a case defending herself when she did not comply with the law."



"Barbara Chasin actually violated a clearly established state law when she withheld Lloyd's grade," says Michael Olivas.

Olivas thinks the real culprit in this lengthy quarrel is New Jersey's Desert Storm Law. "It was a bad law that was a windfall for slackers," he says. "Students who are preempted should only be entitled to a generous refund policy for the unfinished semester, not a grade."

Paul Schacter is even more dismissive of the statute at the root of his client's convoluted legal battles. "Imagine if Dr. Chasin's course was heart surgery and the student finished ten weeks of the course and then was called away to the Gulf. Would it behoove a medical college to give him an A and say he was competent to practice?"

ALISSA QUART

THE LANGUAGE BROKER

WITH THE RISING BULL market and the approach of their retirement, many middle-aged English professors have unexpectedly come to pay attention to Wall Street. In a neat reversal of this trend, however, some denizens of the stock market are now being forced to devote slavish atten-

STEVE HOCKSTEIN; REUTERS

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tion to the writings of William Lutz, a fifty-eight-year-old scholar of rhetoric at Rutgers University's Camden, New Jersey campus.

In October 1998, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) began requiring mutual funds and corporations selling stocks and bonds to write their prospectuses in "plain English." As a result, Wall Streeters must pay as much heed to dangling participles and weak verbs as they do to pending lawsuits and falling revenues. Their guide in this perplexing endeavor—a sort of Strunk & White for the mutual-fund crowd—is a handbook cobbled together by Lutz.

These days, many people might see an English professor as an unlikely exemplar of good, clear writing. But Lutz, who has been teaching at Rutgers since 1971, is well-equipped for the job. While serving as chairman of the English department, he took night courses and earned a law degree in 1983. A self-styled expert on gobbledygook, he edited the *Quarterly Review of Doublespeak* for fourteen years. He has also edited *Beyond Nineteen Eighty-Four: Doublespeak in a Post-Orwellian Age,* as well as the *Cambridge Thesaurus of American English.*

Lutz's writing career got a boost when Arthur Levitt was appointed chairman of the SEC. An English major at Williams College, Levitt had worked as a drama critic at the *Berkshire Eagle* before heading to Wall Street and rising to head the American Stock Exchange. Since the start of his tenure in 1993, Levitt has aimed to make the financial markets more accessible and intelligible to the millions of new investors who have recently flooded the exchange. "I was convinced that few people read prospectuses or annual reports, and I wanted to do something about it, so I had to start with the language," he explains.

In 1994, Levitt kicked off the campaign that led to requiring mutual-fund companies and stock issuers to write their documents in plain English. When Lutz heard about the initiative, he called Nancy Smith, the director of the SEC's Office of Investor Education, and offered to help produce a writing manual.

Lutz started with a list of fifty-eight rules and then distilled them into a series of home truths. The result: *A Plain English Handbook: How to Create Clear SEC Disclosure Documents.* At seventy-seven pages, including an introduction by billionaire investor Warren Buffett, the manual offers succinct, Hemingway-esque advice: Use the active voice and personal pronouns. Keep sentences short. Avoid legal and financial jargon, weak verbs, and superfluous words. Address investors as "you" and refer to the company as "we." Substitute terms like "growth" for "capital appreciation."

The text is peppered with quotes from grammatical authorities such as Thomas Jefferson and Aristotle. Says Lutz, "I'm a classical rhetorician by training and by temperament, and it's amazing how well those principles hold up." The handbook also includes design suggestions: Serif typefaces are easier to read than sans-serif typefaces, and italics and bold are better than using block capitals.

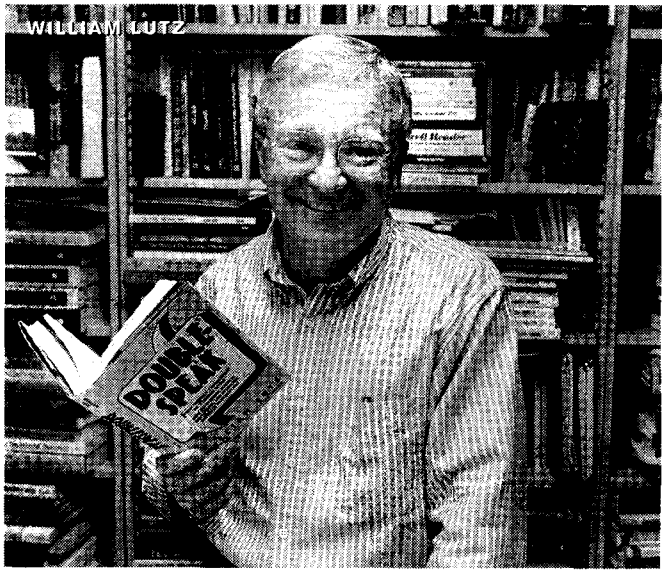
Since the requirements were implemented in October 1998, the SEC has been singling out Wall Street firms for plain-English review. MarketWatch.com, a financial-data company, was told that its "sentences are too long, complex and legalistic to be understandable on first reading." An SEC staffer informed another company that no paragraph should contain more than twelve lines of text. And SEC grammar checkers ordered lawyers preparing a prospectus for a major chemical producer to eliminate the use of parenthetical phrases that "disrupt the flow of information and make the sentence very long."

So far, lawyers and investment bankers have sworn *at* rather than *by* Lutz's handbook. Their biggest complaint? The editorial requirements have caused delays, adding another seven to ten days to what is already a difficult process. Since opportunities for public offerings arise quickly in today's fast-moving markets, such a delay, says a partner at a major New York law firm, "can make tens and hundreds of millions of dollars of difference."

Some lawyers have responded to the new grammatical dictates by drafting civilians to do their writing. When TheStreet.com, the online financial publication, prepared the prospectus for its initial public offering, lawyers enlisted Sean McLaughlin, TheStreet's vice president for media relations, who had once worked at *Harper's.* "We were glad to do it in plain English, because part of our IPO was reserved for our subscribers and other individual investors," says McLaughlin.

Others have responded by engaging in that time-honored form of corporate rebellion: lobbying. A delegation of rainmaking attorneys, incensed at the application of Lutz's dictates, trekked to Washington to complain. "Plain English is in the eye of the beholder," protests Jim Clark, a lawyer at the Manhattan firm of Cahill, Gordon. But despite the lawyers' best efforts to argue the case for relativism, the SEC is standing firm. Insists Levitt, "We're talking about a cultural change, and it doesn't come easily or come fast."

DANIEL GROSS



NICK ROMANENKO

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TARGET MALPRACTICE

THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE Agency's reputation became one of the few American casualties of the Kosovo war when three satellite-guided bombs slammed into the Chinese embassy in Belgrade on May 7. Understandably, the Chinese were enraged. When U.S. Under Secretary of State Thomas Pickering explained that the bombs had been misdirected because the CIA had used an out-of-date map, China's news agency curtly dismissed the notion. With all its intelligence sources and reconnaissance hardware, the agency concluded, "the U.S. could not possibly have mistaken the embassy building."

And yet, academic studies of the history and uses of maps suggest the contrary lesson: Even the best maps are fallible. Five days after the embassy bombing, former CIA director Robert Gates blamed the debacle on "outdated maps and insufficient personnel" due to "twelve years of budget cuts" in the intelligence community's mapping services. But Gates ignored the fact that the CIA's history of map-related disasters stretches back at least four decades. On the basis of prerevolutionary maps of Cuba, agency planners chose an "isolated" stretch of beach on the Bay of Pigs as a good spot for an amphibious landing in 1961. When frogmen preceding the Cuban exiles' invasion force waded ashore in the middle of the night, they found rows of newly built cottages with gardens and piers, and on the end of one pier, a policeman.

A few years later, the CIA repeated the mistake, dropping Tibetan commandos into the hands of their Chinese enemies. The drop zones had been plotted on a 1904 British map of the Himalayas. During the secret bombing of Cambodia in 1973, B-52s regularly obliterated villages not marked on outdated CIA maps. The invasion of Grenada occurred during what by Gates's logic should have been the golden age of map making, but U.S. Army troops went into battle carrying tourist maps with grid coordinates pencilled in the night before. They destroyed a mental hospital and one of their own command posts before learning to rely on more trustworthy maps captured from the enemy.

That these errors occurred despite the use of splendid gadgets—aerial photography, electronic distance-measuring instruments, inertial navigation systems, global-positioning satellites, and remote sensing equipment—raises the possibility that the fault lay not with the maps or the map makers, but with how people think about their maps. According to social scientists, the way mankind's oldest form of written communication is

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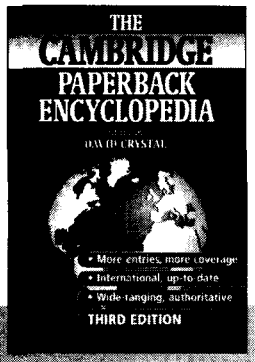

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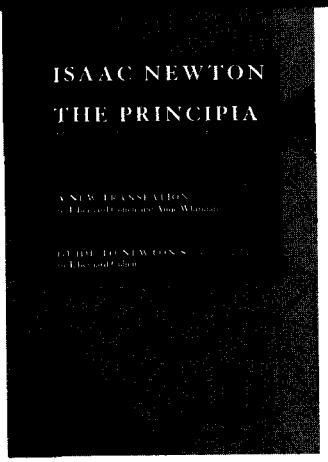

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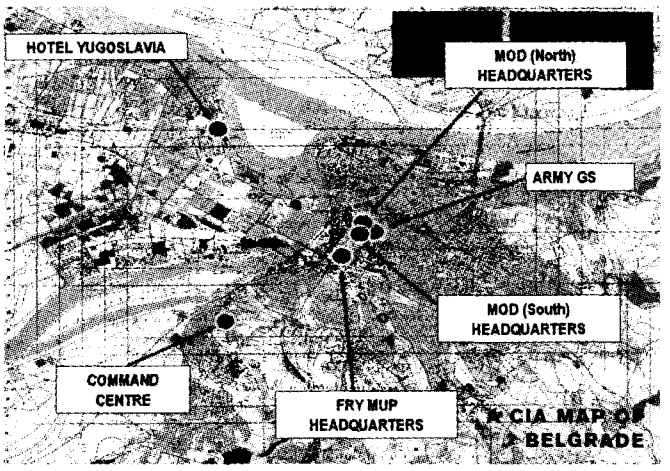
currently understood by governments and armies is only a few centuries old, and it is profoundly flawed.

The rise of modern cartography is intimately connected with warfare, according to Thongchai Winichakul, a historian at the University of Wisconsin and author of *Siam Mapped* (Hawaii, 1994), a prizewinning study of how maps shaped Thai national identity. Before the mid-nineteenth century, the Siamese court had little use for maps, linear boundaries, or frontier markers, since loyalty and hostility were not understood in geographical terms. But once Siam was hemmed in by European powers, the rules changed. From 1885 on, British surveying parties accompanied each of the Siamese king's military expeditions. "The ultimate conqueror was the modern discourse of mapping," Winichakul writes. "Mapping and military force became a single set of mutually reinforcing technologies to exercise power over space."

The new system did not prevent conflict, but it made conflict assume a predictable form: armed incursions across the lines drawn on maps. Maps provided a convenient schematic. Invaders could assume that every village inside a boundary was loyal to the Siamese king, just as NATO targeters could assume that every government building in Belgrade belonged to Slobodan Milosevic. But the orderliness that maps superimpose on the world is often a mirage. According to CIA director George Tenet, intelligence analysts had the correct street address of the targeted Yugoslav arms agency;



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Paradoxically, a map's value derives from the removal of information.

what they did not have was that address's exact location along the street in question. This they inferred from the sequence of addresses on a parallel street. They then consulted three different street maps, none of which included the newly built Chinese embassy. The analysts, it seems, were misled by employing overly literal interpretations of two standard mapmaking conventions: the use of uniform units of mea-

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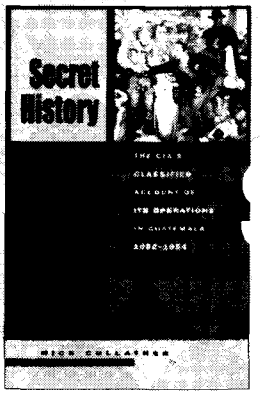

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surement and the static representation of a changeable landscape. Their mistake was to assume their maps corresponded to reality—which is only, after all, what maps are supposed to do.

In his book *Seeing Like a State* (Yale, 1998), Yale University political scientist James C. Scott emphasizes the dangers of excessive abstraction. A map, he cautions, is "very much like a still photograph of the current in a river." Charts can be updated and endlessly annotated, even animated with computerized Geographical Information Systems, but they still depend on a paradoxical fact: Their value derives from the removal of information. A map's usefulness, Scott says, "depends, in a curious way, on its abstract sketchiness, its lack of detail—its thinness." Like Borges's

The CIA's history of map-related disasters stretches back at least four decades.

cartographical wonder in "The Maker," any map as detailed as reality would be illegible.

Scott notes that a mania for abstraction and modeling characterized the middle years of the twentieth century. It was also the era in which the CIA developed its theory of intelligence. Sherman Kent, a Yale historian who headed the agency's Board of National Estimates in the 1950s, believed that once the "facts" of the external world were known and presented to American leaders, foreign-policy making would become a science. Kent instructed young recruits to build toward the day when CIA agents would be able "to know everything, to be believed when we spoke, and to exercise an influence to the good."

The CIA's knowledge and influence were transmitted using maps that were relayed to the White House Situation Room, where they guided the president's efforts to control the course of diplomacy and war. During the 1968 Tet Offensive, Lyndon Johnson would stand in the middle of the night over a three-dimensional scale model of the Marine base at Khe Sanh. He could set in motion various counters representing bomber sorties, diplomatic initiatives, or supply columns, but the consequences of these choices remained an abstraction.

Scott notes with thankfulness that the period of mid-century grandiosity, with all of its large-scale designs for human improvement, appears to be past. Ambitious schemes of nation building and city planning have been tempered by a greater awareness of unintended consequences and incomplete knowledge. If true, that means the American intelligence community may be among the last surviving bastions of the mid-century ideal. The CIA and its critics—in Congress, the press, and even China—continue to share Kent's optimism: They believe that intelligence is perfectible, that error-free maps can be produced, and that all the targets can be the right ones.

NICK CULLATHER

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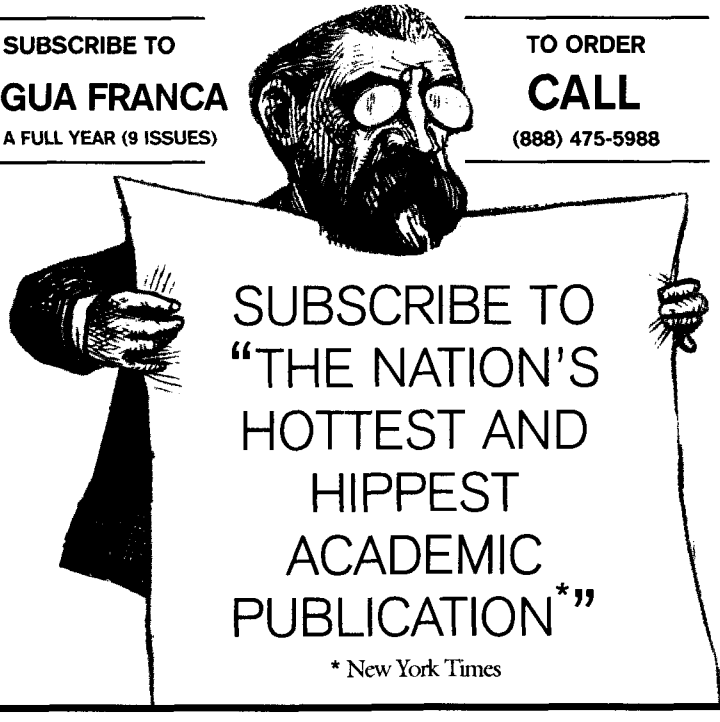

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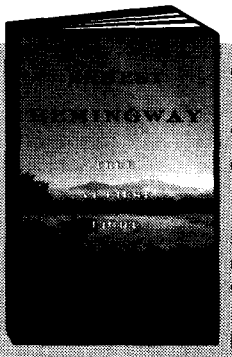

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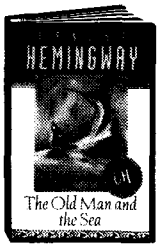

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Breakthrough Books

THE ESSAY

WE ASKED SIX WRITERS AND SCHOLARS TO RECOMMEND THE BEST RECENT ESSAY COLLECTIONS AND BOOKS ON THE ESSAY.

Phillip Lopate, editor of *Writing New York: A Literary Anthology* (Library of America, 1998) and, for the past three years, editor of *The Anchor Essay Annual.*

"The practice of the essay is an ancient one, as natural for the writer as walking, so we ought not to be taken in by boom promoters who think it is back in vogue, nor doomsayers who consider it moribund. Having attempted, these past three years, to keep up with all the essays in periodicals as well as bound collections, I can testify to the form's hardihood, even as I find it hard to pinpoint any one or two books that might be categorized as 'breakthroughs.' Rather, let me cite some of those amazing practitioners who continue to essay willingly and well, regardless of scant commercial rewards.

"**Edward Hoagland's *Tigers & Ice: Reflections on Nature and Life*** (The Lyons Press, 1999) is a flavorsome, far-ranging collection by one of our masters, who attends to the interconnectedness of all living things. **Joseph Epstein's *Narcissus Leaves the Pool*** (Houghton Mifflin, 1999) demonstrates the former *American Scholar* editor's shrewdly literary intelligence, leavened by self-mockery and more intimacy than usual. **Sam Pickering** continues to turn out a volume of eccentric meditations every year: His latest is the delightful ***A Little Fling and Other Essays*** (Tennessee, forthcoming). ***The Hunter Gracchus*** (Counterpoint, 1996) treats matters of literature and art with **Guy Davenport's** characteristic, awe-inspiring erudition and clarity. The poet **Naomi Shihab Nye** has given us an immensely charming and quirky collection of personal essays, ***Never in a Hurry*** (South Carolina, 1996), about being a transplanted Palestinian in San Antonio, Texas. In her strong collection, ***Approaching Eye Level*** (Beacon, 1996), the New York–besotted **Vivian Gornick** conveys the gritty texture of life and relationships in that city.

"If any recent essay collection can be considered revelatory, it is **Jorge Luis Borges's *Selected Non-Fictions*** (Viking, 1999), edited by Eliot Weinberger. Borges's manner always seemed 'essayistic' at the core, whether he was writing stories or poems; but now, with this five-hundred-plus-page collection in hand, we can appreciate that he was also one of the great modern essayists. What he wrote of the polymath John Wilkins could be said about Borges himself: 'He was full of happy curiosity.' What a pleasure to follow his mind through the caves of literature. Meanwhile the man stands before us, less veiled, more personal, than in any of his other books."

Paula Backscheider, Pepperell Eminent Scholar at Auburn University and author of *Reflections on Biography* (Oxford, forthcoming).

"With the birth of the modern press in the eighteenth century, the essay became a powerful tool in the hands of its greatest writers. Essayists Joseph Addison and Richard Steele set the standard for good taste in *Tatler* and *Spectator*, and Daniel Defoe made great progress toward freeing news commentary from the iron hand of the government in his *Review*. Political propaganda, book reviewing, and magazines were born and took the shapes we now know. Until recently, almost nothing has been known of the many women writers who worked alongside men as equals—as Delarivière Manley did with Jonathan Swift on the *Examiner*—and even had their own essay-rich periodicals. **Paula McDowell's *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678–1730*** (Clarendon, 1998) is a stunning reconstruction of the prominent roles women—from a complete range of socioeconomic backgrounds—played in writing, publishing, and distributing publications. The essay was the most accessible and powerful means of polite political expression for these women. **Patricia Spacks's *Selections from the Female Spectator*** (Oxford, 1999) presents a collection of essays by Eliza Fowler Haywood, the first woman to have her own essay periodical, which covered science, literature, fashion, politics, and women's legal rights in the 1700s."

Tracy Chevalier, editor of *Encyclopedia of the Essay* (Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997) and author of *Girl With a Pearl Earring* (Dutton, forthcoming).

"***The Art of the Personal Essay: An Anthology From the Classical Era to the Present***, edited by **Phillip Lopate** (Anchor, 1994), includes selections that range widely in voice, subject matter, time, and place. Start-

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ing with precursors like Seneca and Plutarch, moving on to Montaigne, 'patron saint of personal essayists,' and ending with a cornucopia of twentieth-century writers, the collection is a journey for both reader and writer. Besides reacquainting us with classics such as E.B. White's 'Once More to the Lake' and George Orwell's 'Such, Such Were the Joys,' it also introduces lesser-known writers such as the wonderful tenth-century Japanese court lady Sei Shonagon, who kept lists in her *Pillow Book* of 'Embarrassing Things' and 'Hateful Things,' or the Italian writer Natalia Ginzburg, who wrote with honesty and humor about her relationship with her husband in 'He and I.' **Thomas Lynch**'s ***The Undertaking: Life Studies From the Dismal Trade*** (Norton, 1997), a collection of twelve personal essays by a part-time poet and full-time undertaker, is a moving and often funny exploration of dying and death from someone who sees it at close range. Lynch deftly links personal experience—marital breakdown, his father's alcoholism—to universal issues, even while he lances the boil of our reluctance to consider death an essential part of our lives. The essay form is perfectly suited to his subject, for death is best addressed not through treatise or novel, but on a scale that is human and unintimidating."

Robert Atwan, editor of numerous college essay anthologies and founder and series editor of *The Best American Essays*, which has been published annually by Houghton Mifflin since 1986.

"The essay has long been confined to academic obscurity. Today's students read essays almost exclusively in freshman composition programs, where they are taught primarily as models of exposition or argumentation. Most college students—and even many educated readers—have no idea that essays are actually a form of literature. Essays and essayists are rarely covered in scholarly journals or critical monographs. But the genre is making a comeback: **Graham Good**'s ***The Observing Self: Rediscovering the Essay*** (Routledge, 1988) and **G. Douglas Atkins**'s ***Estranging the Familiar: Toward a Revitalized Critical Writing*** (Georgia, 1992) are two very readable and groundbreaking studies. For those interested in recent criticism with a pedagogical emphasis, I recommend two collections: ***What Do I Know? Reading, Writing, and Teaching the Essay*** (Boynton/Cook, 1995), edited by **Janis Forman**, and ***Approaches to Teaching Montaigne's Essays*** (MLA, 1994), edited by **Patrick Henry**. Both books offer practical and theoretical reflections on a critically neglected genre that deserves to play a larger role in college education."

R. Lane Kauffmann, associate professor of Spanish and humanities at Rice University and author of various articles on the essay and modern literature.

"In ***The Essayistic Spirit: Literature, Modern Criticism, and the Essay*** (Oxford, 1995), **Claire de Obaldia** suggests that the essay is a form of 'potential literature' that flourishes in periods of cultural crisis. Starting with Montaigne—and with the etymological sense of 'essaying' as trying out—Obaldia proposes an experimental, essayistic mode of writing that confronts questions of genre and literature. She thinks that this essayistic spirit,

with its penchant for paradox and intertextuality, can be seen at play in various fictional or novelistic forms: Roland Barthes's autobiographical fragments, Robert Musil's essayistic novel *The Man Without Qualities*, and Jorge Luis Borges's fictions. Her study provides a rich theoretical matrix for thinking about the essay across the boundaries of nation and genre."

Graham Good, professor of English at the University of British Columbia and author of *The Observing Self: Rediscovering the Essay* (Routledge, 1988).

"The mammoth ***Encyclopedia of the Essay*** (Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997), edited by **Tracy Chevalier**, signals that the importance of the essay as a genre is finally being recognized by scholars and students. Treated for far too long as a mere adjunct to 'major' genres, the essay is a personal form of prose inquiry practiced by poets like Pound and Eliot, novelists like Woolf and James, as well as critics like Johnson and Hazlitt. The ***Encyclopedia*** provides fascinating browsing as well as a starting point for research. It is comprehensive in scope and has several types of entries: individual authors who have made major contributions in the form; types of essay, such as the critical essay and travel essay; cognate forms, like the feuilleton, newspaper column, or prose letter; and magazines and periodicals that have been influential in publishing and promoting the form.

"For me, **George Orwell** is the doyen of twentieth-century essayists. His ***Collected Essays*** (Penguin) are also scattered through the new twenty-volume *Collected Works*, edited by Peter Davison. They range from considerations of school stories (humorous tales about life in an English school written for a schoolboy audience) and dirty postcards (cultural studies has never really acknowledged his pioneering role in the study of popular culture) to political and aesthetic controversies like P.G. Wodehouse's 'collaboration' with the Nazis, or Tolstoy's scathing attack on Shakespeare. The infectious energy of these pieces justifies Orwell's aim to turn political writing into an art, and they compare well, both intellectually and stylistically, with many of the current attempts to turn aesthetic writing into politics."

JOHN PALATTELLA

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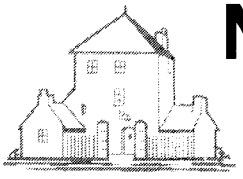

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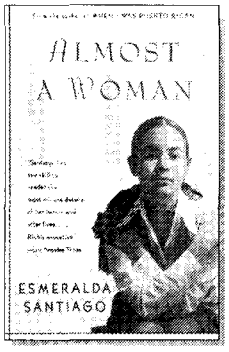

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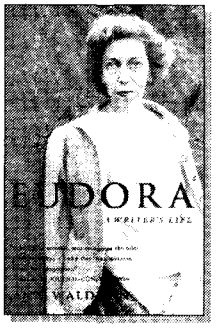

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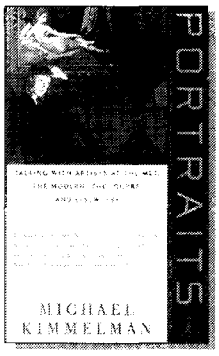

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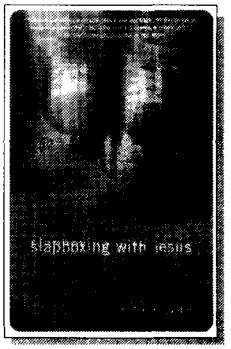

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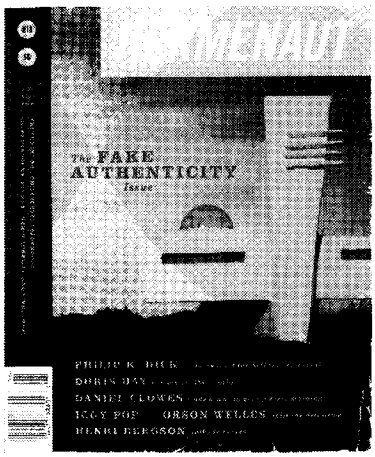
MEET THE HERMENAUTS

WHEN JOSHUA GLENN ENTERED THE PROGRAM in sociology at Boston University in 1991, many things about academic life bothered him—and the near-inescapable term "hermeneutics" embodied them all. "I got sick of hearing the word," he says. "People were using a four-syllable word for 'the search for meaning' in preference to actually searching for meaning." So in 1992—needing, he says, "a steam valve to release the pressure from graduate school"—Glenn put together the first xeroxed-and-stapled issue of *Hermenaut*. Borrowing a suffix from the word "astronaut"—thereby revealing, perhaps, a subconscious identification with John Glenn—he coined a neologism meaning (very roughly) "a traveler in search of signification." At the time, Glenn concedes, he just thought it sounded cool.



With its fifteenth issue now on the stands, *Hermenaut* has come a long way from its beginnings as a twenty-page pamphlet run off surreptitiously by a friend at Kinko's. An attractive book-format journal, this "Digest of Heady Philosophy" has a steady circulation of five thousand. (Don't bother ordering any of the first ten issues; they've sold out.) The staff—as irregular in size as the magazine is in publication schedule—now works in a building owned by the Sam Adams Brewery in Allston, Massachusetts. Yet *Hermenaut* remains very much in the spirit of its debut issue, in which an essay on the German poet and philosopher Novalis appeared alongside Glenn's blistering critique of *Sassy* magazine, "Smells Like Teen Reification."

Neither postpunk 'zine nor scholarly journal, *Hermenaut* is, in fact, a bit of both. It reads like a cultural studies seminar being crashed by well-read bohemians who are resolutely unimpressed by mere academic protocol. Call it the slacker *Salmagundi*. A typical issue features a "Hermenaut of the Month," a culture hero selected by Glenn. These long essays—on Oscar Wilde, Charles Baudelaire, and Simone Weil, among others—are scholarly but engagingly written. They show that Glenn has read his Nietzsche with considerably more attention than, say, your typical brooding sophomore who quotes the aphorisms to justify being a jerk.

When *Hermenaut* writers annoy, at least they do it with style. There's a regular column by somebody named "Slotcar Hatebath" who rants about, for instance, the suburban hip-hop enthusiasts who call themselves "wiggers." Making fun of their "extravagantly protective hand gestures and tortured pseudo-ebonics," Hatebath suggests young Caucasian-Americans try exploiting other ethnic Others. "For those of you that enjoy chillin' in cribs made out of ice," he writes, "consider becoming a Weskimo." A few pages later, another article points out that Søren Kierkegaard ("everybody's favorite unread philosopher") was, at heart, a perpetual grad student "who—like so many of his kind today—expended much of his intellectual energy on justifying his inaction." Given this tone of graceful aggression, it is no surprise that one "Hermenaut of the Month" was Bruce Lee—a onetime philosophy major at the University of Washington, Seattle, for whom a fighting style was a weltanschauung (and vice versa).

What really defines the magazine, though, are its pop-culture essays—several per issue—which are at once loving and recondite. A given issue might include a critical paper on the *Melrose Place* novels, or a metaphysical consideration of the trajectory of Evel Knievel's career. One memorable essay examined 1970s single-woman situation comedies, invoking the crucial difference between Louis Althusser's theory of "interpellation" and Michel de Certeau's understanding of "resistance." Who knew this would prove so invaluable in grasping *That Girl* and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*?

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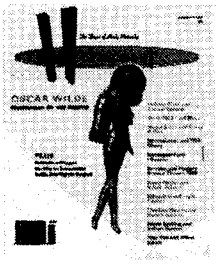

"We have a policy that we don't publish academics. There should be people outside the university thinking about the culture and their lives."

This high-speed shifting of brows—from low to high and back again—is typical of hipster-doofus literati, nowadays. A quick glance would suggest that *Hermenaut* is devoted to little else. (And after all, as honorary Hermenaut Oscar Wilde said, it is only shallow people who do not judge by appearances.) But Glenn insists that his magazine is locked in mortal struggle with what he calls "a neo-Foucauldian conspiracy" of pseudo-intellectuals who have carried a smattering of theory with them into the entertainment industry. (Note to the John Birch Society: this is a joke.) *Hermenaut*'s regular Philosophywatch column chronicles the doings of journalists who "spread meaning onto their prose like cupcake frosting" by "drag[ging] a philosopher's name into everything they type." The evidence cited is disturbing. For example, an *Us* magazine article on Pamela Anderson Lee invokes Plato's early dialogues, while *The New York Observer* finds that Alanis Morissette's use of pronouns must be glossed with Martin Buber's *I and Thou*.

Glenn's life since grad school has been a lesson in how a free-floating intellectual entrepreneur can thrive outside academia. He taught high school and tended bar for a while, then became an editor at the *Utne Reader*. Later, he worked for the online magazine of the Internet company Tripod—and spent his evenings immersed in Kierkegaard's dissertation, *On the Concept of Irony*. When Lycos bought out Tripod, the company went public, and Glenn cashed in his shares. Since June 1998, he's been able to work full-time on *Hermenaut*. And the investment of time and funds shows in the magazine's recent issues, in which the graphics are nearly as smart as the prose.

Today, Glenn says that he gets about twenty or thirty manuscripts a week from people performing shotgun weddings of kitsch and concept. "It's awful," he says. "It's mostly about deconstructing the Smurfs, or how *Dragnet* is existentialist. Just complete junk. And the worst stuff is by professors. We have a policy that we don't publish academics. There should be people outside the university thinking about the culture and their lives. The thing is, they've got to be thinking, not just making these glib comments."

In what direction, then, does *Hermenaut*'s own quest move? Glenn has championed a series of thinkers and artists who keep a distance from mass culture without being merely sarcastic about it. A snarky Generation X-ish "celebration" of the 1970s pop band the Carpenters is just cheap—and (worse) unphilosophical. But actually being moved by the *promesse de bonheur* in Karen Carpenter's voice—while remaining acutely conscious that her anorexic will to power was meaningless and deadly—is an honorable complication of sensibility.

This line of reflection continues in the magazine's latest number, dubbed "The Fake Authenticity Issue." The Hermenaut of the Month is Philip K. Dick, whose gnostic science fiction novels map a vertiginous universe where the "reality" behind every "illusion" proves to be another level of deception. Contributors explore the cultural regime of "fake authenticity"—a term that subsumes pre-frayed Dockers, the Olive Garden's cheesy simulacrum of Italian dining, and the plague of antique shows on PBS. But the devotion of anticorporate hipsters to "authentic" rockabilly or Delta blues is no less phony. (You end up like Heidegger, dressed in rustic drag, annoying the peasants.)

As they contemplate their role as aesthetes in a mass society, the Hermenauts will accept the occasional dribble of ad revenue from university presses. In the most recent issue, one page is split between two advertisements: one for the new edition of Derrida's *Of Grammatology*, the other for records by the punk band Fugazi. But Glenn is very clear about *Hermenaut*'s relation to the university. "One of our secret fantasies," he confesses, "is that students and professors will discover *Hermenaut*, then drop out. They would see it and think: I can read and think for myself, without a syllabus. I can live the life of the mind while working a crappy job." The dream of authenticity doesn't die easily.

SCOTT MCLEMEE

COURTESY JOSHUA GLENN

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LEAPING LIZARDS

WHO WOULD HAVE GUESSED THAT A PUNY, insect-eating lizard called the moth skink (*Lipinia noctua*) would be at the center of a brouhaha over the settlement of Polynesia and the nature of scientific decorum itself? Yet when Christopher Austin, a thirty-three-year-old evolutionary biologist at Tokyo's Institute of Statistical Mathematics (ISM), published an article titled "Lizards Took the Express Train to Polynesia" in the January 1999 issue of *Nature,* that was exactly what happened. He soon found himself under attack—not only from a senior figure in his field, but also from his own officemate and would-be collaborator.

At first glance, Austin's article seemed to offer an ingenious solution to a question that has long vexed scientists: Who settled the Polynesian islands—the last pieces of terra firma to be colonized by prehistoric humans? Austin explains that there are two competing theories. According to the "express train" hypothesis, colonists from southeast Asia swept through the Melanesian islands and into the Pacific, arriving in Polynesia about twenty-five hundred years ago. The "entangled bank" hypothesis, however, holds that Melanesian populations filtered onto the islands in multiple waves over the course of history.

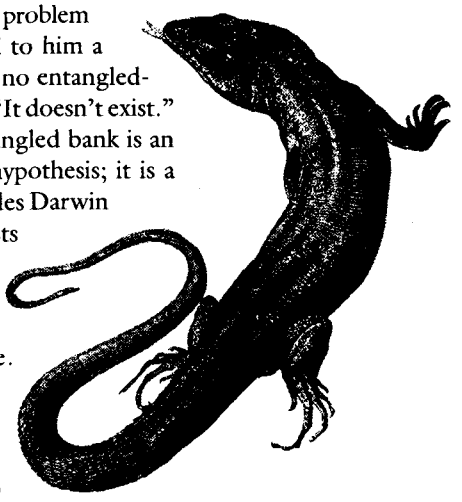
To test these hypotheses, Austin turned to the DNA of the diminutive moth skink, sampling twenty-nine lizards from fifteen different island populations across a total of five thousand miles of the Pacific. Among *L. noctua* native to islands considerably to the west of Polynesia, Austin found significant genetic divergence, indicating, he suggests, a "pre-human natural dispersal." Among lizards residing closer to Polynesia, however, Austin found that their DNA tended to be genetically uniform, differing by two or fewer base pairs from lizard to lizard—evidence, he inferred, of "rapid human-mediated dispersal."

From his DNA results, Austin conjured the following scenario: Settlers ventured out from Melanesia around 1600 B.C. and blazed a trail to Polynesia in a mere few hundred years. A handful of *L. noctua* (or maybe just a single pregnant female) traveled as stowaways aboard their canoes. Had humans migrated to Polynesia in multiple waves over greater periods of time, Austin contends, the lizard population would most likely show greater variation, reflecting multiple "dispersal events." (Austin dismisses the possibility that later colonizers arrived in lizardless canoes as "hard to imagine." *L. noctua,* he says, "are *very* good hitchhikers.")

Austin's story was snapped up by a handful of major news services. On January 14, 1999, the BBC gave it a big splash on its Web site. TWO-INCH LIZARD TO SOLVE LONG-DISTANCE MYSTERY announced *The Independent.* But not everyone was so impressed.

John Terrell, an anthropologist at Chicago's Field Museum who has studied the prehistoric movement of Pacific islanders since 1965, was one of two experts the editors of *Nature* approached to review Austin's article prior to its acceptance. Asked to "provide a few sentences" as to whether "Lizards Took the Express Train" was "pertinent, novel, and free from obvious flaws," Terrell—the author of a monograph Austin credits as the source of the rival, entangled-bank hypothesis—produced a list of criticisms half as long as the manuscript itself. But according to Terrell, the problem wasn't that Austin had discredited his thesis. Rather, the problem was that Austin had attributed to him a view he didn't hold. "There is no entangled-bank hypothesis," Terrell says. "It doesn't exist."

Can a two-inch lizard explain the settlement of the Polynesian islands?



As Terrell explains, the entangled bank is an all-purpose model and not a hypothesis; it is a metaphor borrowed from Charles Darwin that is designed to help scientists "better contemplate the interdependence and complexity" of prehistoric migrations in the South Pacific and elsewhere. Rather than imagining early human migration as an ordered set of movements from one point on a map to another, Terrell encourages scientists to think of it as a series of complex, multidirectional movements of individuals. The entangled bank, he insists, is "not a specific hypothesis about a single event at all."

What is puzzling about this distinction, however, is that Terrell does have a hypothesis about Polynesian settlement—one that seems to follow directly from his "entangled bank" metaphor. He imagines the existence of a "voyaging corridor," a zone of interaction stretching from mainland Asia through the Solomon Islands, within which travel and trade forged links between communities over an extended period of time. What's more, Terrell emphatically repudiates Austin's express-train hypothesis and deplores what he sees as its implicit racialism. "It accepts, indeed demands, that the Polynesians

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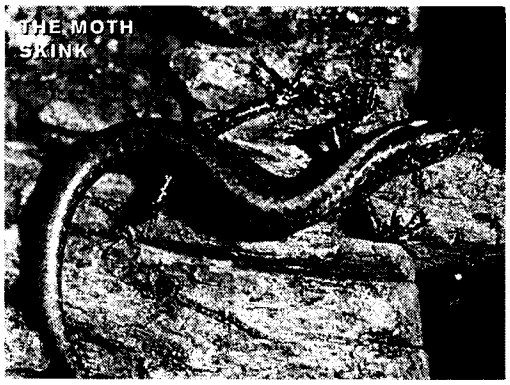
Rather than imagining early human migration as an ordered set of movements from one point to another, Terrell encourages scientists to think of "an entangled bank."

have always been a people or race ever since their ancestors left Asia," he objects. "Austin's claims feed into this old and well-established commonsense view of human diversity that 'races are real.'" Commonsense or no, Terrell believes, such views of human diversity are not only false but "dangerous."

Terrell's thumbs-down convinced the editors of *Nature* to reject Austin's article. But a revised version, which got rave reviews from two of its three assigned readers—all but Terrell—was accepted by *Nature* in mid-October of 1998.

As soon as he heard this news, Terrell contacted Austin directly. "As you may have guessed, I am your negative reviewer," he wrote in an email dated October 20. Describing himself as "upset," he expressed his wish to discuss the portions of Austin's article dealing with his work before it appeared in print.

Just three days later, however, events took an unlikely, noirish twist. To his astonishment, Austin learned that Terrell was collaborating on a rebuttal to his article with Koji Lum, a postdoctorate fellow at ISM and a close colleague of Austin's. Lum, in fact, had originally aided Austin with his article, and his transformation from colleague to critic took Austin by surprise.



COURTESY CHRISTOPHER C. AUSTIN

According to Lum, Austin's lizard article was born of brainstorming sessions between the two scientists that began not long after they met. "It seemed like a natural collaboration," Lum says. Austin took care of *L. noctua*–related business, while Lum covered the human, archaeological angle. "We had started talking about combining the lizard data and the human data to write a paper together," Lum says. But when Austin shared his first draft, Lum was taken aback: "I realized that he had ignored a lot of the things that I was saying, and that I wasn't really a part of it," he says. Shortly thereafter, Lum suggested to Terrell that they write a rebuttal together.

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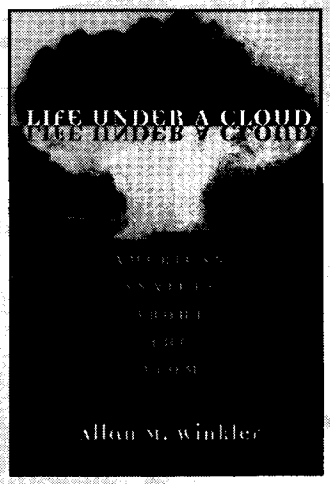

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Austin remembers the project's evolution differently. From the grant application to the data collection, analysis, and article submission, the project, he insists, was a solo effort. "Discussions with a colleague do not constitute authorship," he explains. "I had many, many discussions with colleagues other than Lum concerning this project."

When the paper was ultimately accepted by *Nature*, Austin adds, Lum "demanded to add his name to the manuscript without any changes." According to Austin, Lum is now in the position of rebutting the very paper that he wanted credit for, something Austin finds "very difficult to understand."

According to Austin, Lum is now in the position of rebutting the very paper that he once wanted credit for.

Lum and Terrell appear undeterred. Since January, they have been hard at work on what Lum refers to as "cleaning the academic toilet"—their ongoing attempt to set the record straight. When their first rebuttal was rejected by *Nature*, the indefatigable duo urged a number of colleagues to petition the magazine's editors to reverse the decision. The resulting barrage of emails was received at *Nature* as proof of little more than Terrell's popularity. Undaunted, Terrell and Lum prepared a second rebuttal, this time recruiting Peter Bellwood, a reader in anthropology and archaeology at Australian National University, as a third co-author.

The alliance with Bellwood, who is a leading proponent of the "express train" hypothesis, was a smart tactical move, but apparently not enough to sway opinion at *Nature*. In May, Terrell and his collaborators received a second letter of rejection.

According to *Nature*'s executive editor, Maxine Clarke, who describes herself as "an ethical person with no axe to grind in this or any other scientific pursuit," the magazine "has behaved impeccably" throughout the Austin-Terrell conflict. And despite her reluctance to speak about specifics, she offered the following aside: "It does seem to me on this occasion that there is a lot of 'sound and fury signifying nothing' going on." Certainly, the debate has not thus far brought anyone closer to resolving the mystery of Polynesian settlement.

Austin, who has seen a version of Terrell's rebuttal, describes it as "a not so carefully worded personal attack on myself, surrounded by scientific obscurantism." Still, he is not completely without sympathy for Terrell's mission. "If he's able to vent some of that anger by having his views come out in this piece, then I see no harm in that."

PAUL BRAVMANN

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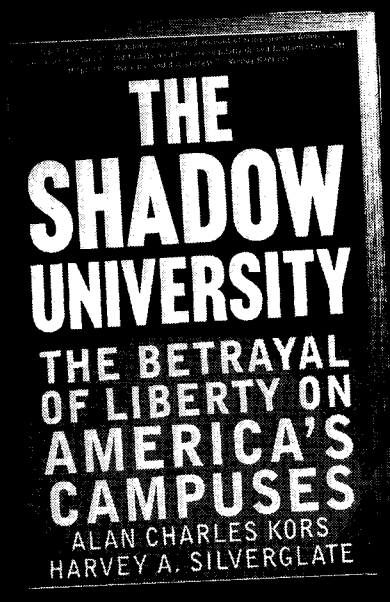

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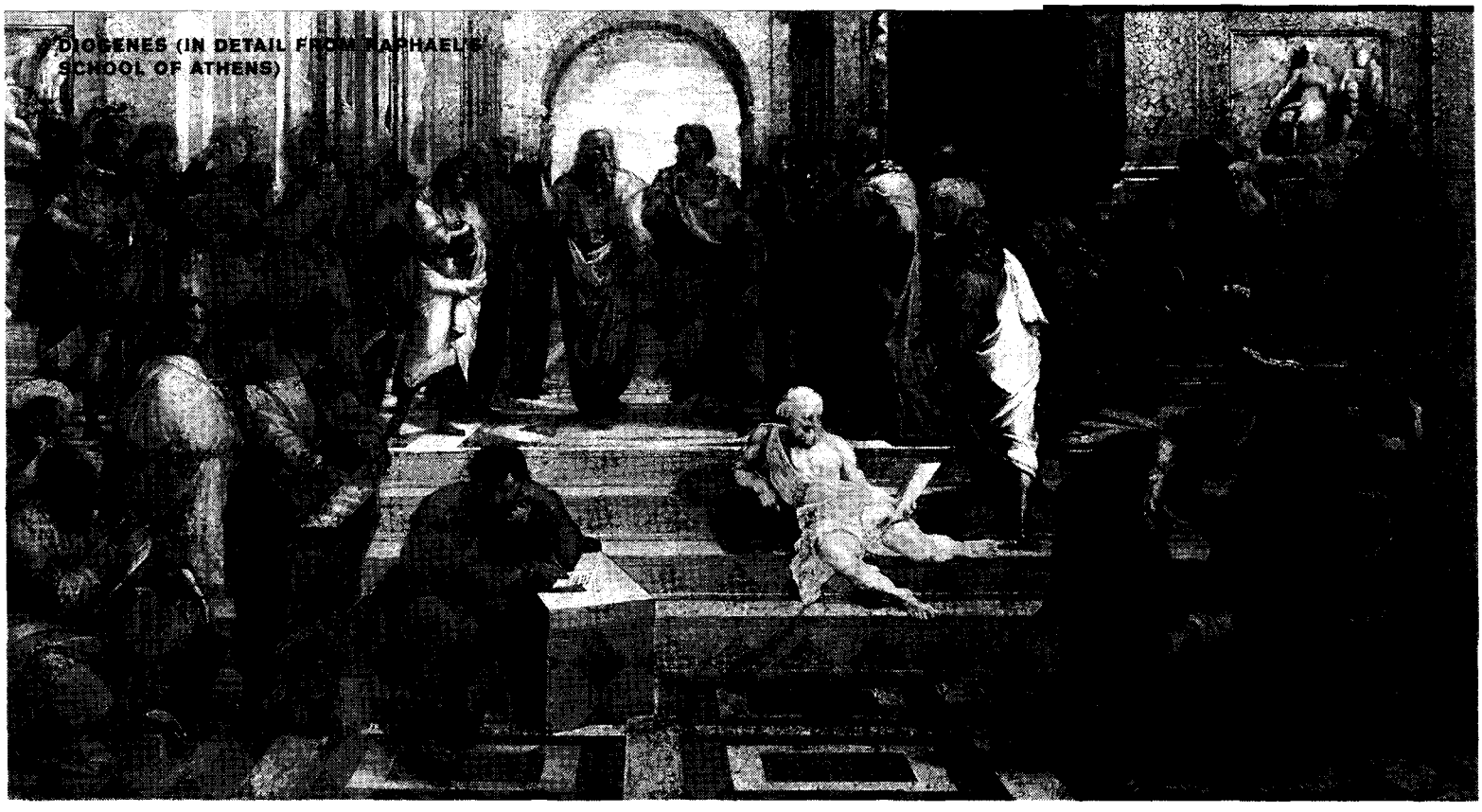

DIOGENES (IN DETAIL FROM RAPHAEL'S SCHOOL OF ATHENS)

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DOG DAYS

THEY DIDN'T PAY TAXES AND THEY DIDN'T vote. They lived in public spaces, one of them in a barrel at the marketplace. They had no problem with cannibalism or incest. ("I see that in my henhouse all the time," quipped one.) Scandalous for the times, they attended to the needs of Aphrodite, in couples or alone, in the plain sight of everyone.

An important part of our classical heritage, the Cynic philosophers are undergoing a quiet revival in the academy. This is no small feat: Even compared to other pre-Socratic philosophers, the Cynics left practically nothing in the way of writings. Much of what we know about them comes from anecdotes and sayings called *chreiai* assembled by Diogenes Laertius in his *Lives and Opinions of Famous Philosophers* from the third century A.D. The most famous tells of Alexander the Great seeking out Diogenes of Sinope (no relation to Laertius). Finding the philosopher sprawled in the gutter, the general politely asks him for a little advice. Diogenes's response: "Get out of the way, you're blocking my sun." Alexander leaves impressed.

Skits and one-liners are all we have of the original Cynics partly because they didn't have a formal philosophy to record in the first place. The Cynics were ardent anti-intellectuals, rejecting book learning as a distraction from philosophy's true task: to live a moral life according to nature. In the Cynics' view, all social customs are arbitrary and contrary to nature, whose dumb but happy beasts humans would do well to emulate. ("Cynic" means "doglike" in ancient Greek.) Through a combination of material self-deprivation and animal sensuality, the disciplined Cynic would find happiness, self-sufficiency, and *parrhesia,* the freedom to criticize accepted values. More yippie-punk than sniggering David Letterman, the Cynics set out to reveal the absurdity of social norms, or, in their own words, to "deface the currency" of public life.

Unsurprisingly perhaps, the Cynics and their descendents have gotten a bum rap over the centuries. Bewailed by columnists, politicos, and hand-wringing clergy, the very term "cynicism" has become shorthand for low voter turnout, distrust of government, civic apathy, even bowling alone. Today's Cynics, goes the popular lament, won't vote, run for public office, or volunteer at

An important part of our classical heritage, the Cynic philosophers are undergoing a quiet revival in the academy.

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According to Sloterdijk, ancient Cynicism should not be confused with today's nihilism and passivity.

the community center because they're convinced that people—not just social customs—are by nature self-interested and hypocritical, and injustice is better exploited to one's own advantage than rectified. But is this attitude a Cynical one or something else entirely?

According to Peter Sloterdijk, a professor of aesthetics and philosophy at the Institute of Design in Karlsruhe, Germany, today cynicism has become widely confused with nihilism and solipsism. But properly understood, he argues, classical Cynicism can offer us a way out of our contemporary social despair. First published in German in 1983, Sloterdijk's *Critique of Cynical Reason* (Minnesota, 1987) draws a sharp distinction between ancient *kynismus* (life-and-body-affirming, Zen-like) and modern *zynismus* (shoulder-shrugging, passive, "enlightened false consciousness"). How the former slowly turned into the latter preoccupies much of the book. In particular, Sloterdijk argues that the fourteen years of the Weimar Republic saw a passive form of cynicism achieve cultural dominance in affairs moral, sexual, and political. Unlike Diogenes's philosophy, this modern cynicism preached apathy and paralysis, and according to one popular historical explanation, was instrumental to the rise of the Nazis.

Modern cynicism not only survived World War II, Sloterdijk argues, but it remains the dominant societal modus operandi in the West. To remedy this, Sloterdijk prescribes ancient *kynismus* and the teachings of Diogenes: Only the body-affirming, uncompromising interventions of the original dogs can pull us back from consumerist misery, nuclear suicide, and other social evils. Sloterdijk is vague about what these interventions might entail, but his book seems to promote the author's own generation of 1968 and its comic street theater as a model of "satiric resistance."

Whatever its merits, Sloterdijk's analyses and nostrums have proved popular: Scholars who have retooled Sloterdijk's *Kynismus/Zynismus* distinction for analyses of their own country's cynical mood, include the British scholar Timothy Bewes who published *Cynicism and Postmodernity* (Verso, 1997). And in the brand-new *Everybody Knows: Cynicism in America* (Minnesota), University of Montana political scientist William Chaloupka argues that cynicism rules American politics and culture. In response to the cynicism of the elites and their self-serving calls for more "civility" in public life, Chaloupka champions a tradition of "activist cynics." He writes: "Our literature and, more important, our cinema, television, and

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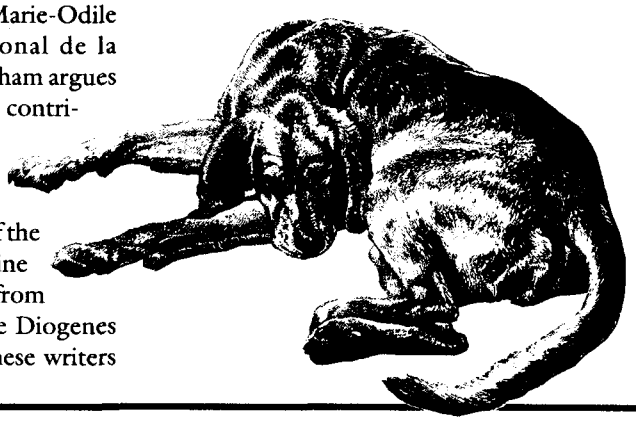
popular culture are full of cheeky, exasperated, yet attractive Kynics. Humphrey Bogart was perhaps the most famous. Dave Barry and Hunter S. Thompson are revered curmudgeons, precisely because of their charismatic cynicism, displayed in their edgy diatribes against oppressive, or just plain stupid, power." In Chaloupka's view, we must grant such "trouble-makers, balloon puncturers, and hot-air detectors" their due, rather than regard them as mere "sideshow entertainers."

Bracht Branham, a professor of classics and comparative literature at Emory University, has also set out to rescue the Cynics, but from another direction. In an essay in *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy* (California, 1996), a volume he co-edited with Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, Branham argues that the Cynics' greatest, enduring contribution was in the literary, not philosophical domain. Such literary devices as parody, burlesque, diatribe, and satire are, he points out, trademarks of the Cynics' *chreiai*, and he traces the canine influence on contemporary writers from Aldous Huxley to Martin Amis. Like Diogenes before them, Branham maintains, these writers create forceful satire by blending Cynical literary techniques with high-minded social criticism.

Some Cynic-lovers are even more avowedly high minded. Philosopher Martha Nussbaum comes to the dogs through her readings of the Stoics, post-Socratic philosophers who incorporated many of the Cynics' core beliefs. Of particular interest to Nussbaum is the Cynic concept of ***kosmopolites***, a notion stemming from a *chreia* that has some locals harassing Diogenes for not doing his civic duties. Diogenes' rejoinder: "I am a kosmopolites," by which he meant a city-dweller of the cosmos, with cosmos most likely implying universe, although the term is also translatable as "world" or "good order." On one level, this declaration was prob-



In response to the cynicism of the elites, Chaloupka champions the counter-cynicism of Dave Barry and Hunter S. Thompson.

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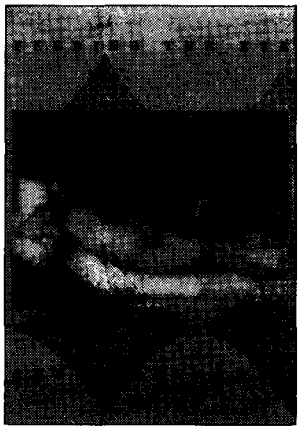

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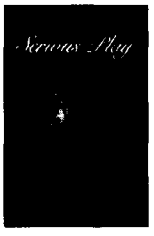
A retired Anglican priest has proposed that Jesus, Paul, and other early Christians have a great deal in common with the Cynics.

ably intended as a comic oxymoron. But Nussbaum sees another, affirmative meaning. "The idea is that you owe allegiance and loyalty in the first instance to the moral community constituted by all human beings, and only secondarily to particular forms of local community: Where's the oxymoron in that?" she asks. "It is the ancestor of Kant's notion of the 'Kingdom of Ends,' and the idea was hugely influential throughout the history of Western philosophy and international law." In her essay "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," which appears in *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism* (Beacon, 1996), Nussbaum holds up the fourth-century B.C. couple Crates and Hipparchia as cosmopolitan prototypes. These ancient Cynics, she believes, can instruct America's schoolchildren in the virtues of placing one's obligations to mankind before one's responsibilities to one's own country. Could the hairy and foul-smelling Cynics be exalted any higher?

In fact, yes. The Cynics reach their contemporary apotheosis in the scholarship of F. Gerald Downing, a retired Anglican parish priest from the Manchester diocese, who has proposed, most recently in *Cynics, Paul, and the Pauline Churches* (Routledge, 1998), that Jesus, Paul, and other early Christians have a great deal in common with the Cynics. For instance, Downing argues, Jesus' exhortation to be like the ravens and lilies of the field, "who toil not and neither do they spin," smells strongly of dog. "In the Judaic tradition there are many injunctions to imitate industrious animals like bees and ants, but not the 'lazy' animals held up as examples in Luke 12:24," says Downing. There is also the early Christian repudiation of the family, and the praise of poverty for its own sake, both very Cynical-sounding. And the anthropophagous gist of the eucharist can be linked to the Cynics' blasé attitude toward cannibalism. There is even shadowy evidence of some Cynics hanging around Gadara (of Gadarine Swine fame), which is very close to Galilee—a fact the Jesus gang would surely have known about.

With the Rock of Ages we have come a long way from jacking off in the agora—a Cynic specialty much treasured by Michel Foucault, who devoted his last five lectures exclusively to the dog-philosophers. But what today's exponents of classical Cynicism suggest is that neither the disaffected couch-tuber nor the conniving politician is really worthy of the name; the original Cynicism is a rugged species of idealism, and—*pace* all the journalists, uplifters, and social crusaders—it is in very short supply.

CHASE MADAR



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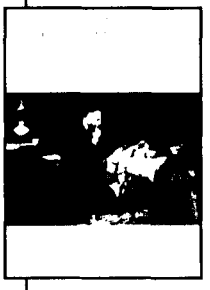

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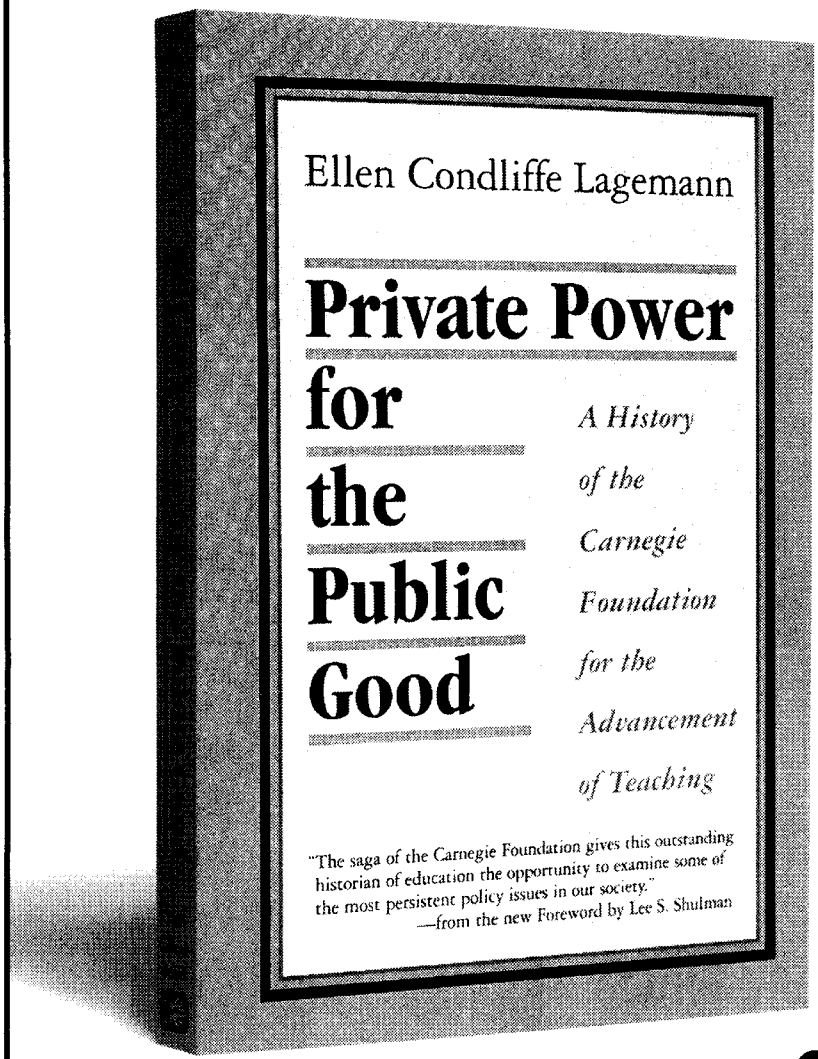
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FAITH NO MORE

THE CAMPUS CRUSADE FOR SECULAR HUMANISM

BY **EMILY NUSSBAUM**

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"INTRODUCING—THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE!" Derek Araujo, a founder of the Campus Freethought Alliance (CFA), leans away from the microphone and teases a jazzy groove from his electric guitar. Drums kick in, then another guitar, and finally the saxophone—a serpentine riff from an eighteen-year-old blonde girl sporting suede platform shoes and a rhinestone choker. It's the final banquet of a meeting of secular humanists and skeptics from around the country. The dessert-nibbling crowd consists largely of fifty-year-olds in pearls and blazers, but here and there a college student's carrottop or bleach-streaked coif stands out among the gray. The musical number—an original by Araujo—has been renamed for this occasion. It's called "For Hook, Quine, and Pinker," after three of the most prominent influences on the secular humanist movement.

Meet the CFA, a youthful offshoot of the twenty-five-year-old secular humanism movement begun by atheist philosopher Paul Kurtz back in the 1970s. Founded in 1996, the CFA has expanded rapidly and now includes more than one hundred campus organizations, ranging from a tiny enclave of two isolated students at the University of Guelph in Ontario to a rowdy gang of one hundred dues-paying, debate-sponsoring enthusiasts at the University of Minnesota. Secular humanism, these idealistic nonbelievers believe, can be more than just the rejection of religion; for them it is the affirmation of a life philosophy, offering moral direction, an intellectual toolkit, and a call to political action. And this summer—jokingly christened Summer

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Slave Labor Workfest '99 by its organizers—a geographically diverse group of CFA members have gathered in rural Amherst, New York, where Kurtz's Center for Inquiry is based, to construct the movement's groundwork. While more traditional events such as this week's conference—the Center's summer session, featuring courses on the psychology of belief—swirl around them, these volunteers are busy. They're xeroxing; they're writing how-to-start-your-own-CFA pamphlets; they're planning activities like the popular Superstition Bash (a Friday the 13th bacchanal during which celebrants walk under ladders and smash mirrors); and they're zeroing in on methods to fight the religious right and protect free speech. (They're also flirting and watching *South Park*.)

The CFA aims to provide skeptical college students with much of what Hillel, Campus Crusade for Christ, and the Muslim Students' Association offer their devout counterparts: lectures, parties, activism, and a supportive community of like-minded compatriots—all the ingredients, in short, of a well-rounded personal identity. When people think of young atheists, says Araujo, they think not of thoughtful and respected scholars like Richard Feynman and E.O. Wilson, but of teenage sociopaths like the Columbine killers. The CFA hopes to turn that image around, and in the process, to make godlessness cool again. To quote executive director Amanda Chesworth, writing in the organization's e-bulletin: "We're no longer just a movement, we're a revolution—and we've got what it takes to kick some irrational butt!"

Evidently, the CFA has tapped into a reservoir of social and political energy. The group's optimism is infectious. Yet, in setting itself up as an alternative to campus religious groups, one might wonder whether the CFA is guilty of substituting one form of groupthink for another. Is this identity politics for universalists? A congregation for independent thinkers? Or are the similarities to organized religion—formal meetings, rituals, and shared beliefs—merely superficial? Is it possible to adopt so many of the trappings that make shared spiritual identities so appealing—and then use them to do battle against blind faith?

HUMANISM AS A PHILOSOPHY—IN ITS broadest definition, an emphasis on human experience as the basis of morality and knowledge—has existed, in various fuzzy forms, since the beginning of time. Confucianism, the Greek Skeptics, Bertrand Russell, John Dewey, "scientific," "ethical," and "Marxist" flavors—everything from Unitarianism to Darwinism has fallen under the up-with-people semantic umbrella, making for bedfellows as strange as Friedrich Nietzsche and Simone de Beauvoir. Back in ancient Greece, Protagoras asserted that "man is the measure of all things"; in the Renaissance, the neo-Platonist philosopher Pico della Mirandola said that God instructed man to "fashion thyself in whatever shape thou shalt prefer." Renaissance humanists like Mirandola were also, most often, deeply religious and mystical. It is only in more recent times that distinctly secular forms of humanism began to emerge—in forms too numerous to survey.

Today's secular humanist movement takes its inspiration most directly from the early-twentieth-century pragmatism of the American philosopher John Dewey, and some of his disciples such as the late New York University philosopher Sidney Hook. For Dewey and Hook, human beings were animals who use their intelligence to solve problems. Without any assistance from above, they reason together to determine the most successful way to resolve unsettling situations. Dewey and Hook's "pragmatic naturalism" stressed the origin of both scientific truth and ethical conduct in the fallible and revisable workings of human reason.

Secular humanism as a distinct philosophy blossomed in the 1970s, thanks largely to Kurtz, now a professor emeritus at the State University of New York at Buffalo. A charismatic septuagenarian, Kurtz was born into a nonobservant Jewish family but rejects all nationalistic and tribal allegiances. As a soldier in World War II, he helped liberate Dachau and says his vision of human nature was shaped by the war. "I was in a foxhole," he says brusquely. "I was an atheist. There are lots of atheists in foxholes; they just didn't discuss it." To spread the word about godless morality, Kurtz has sponsored and spoken at hundreds of conferences on topics such as "Why Does Religion Persist?" featuring mediagenic rationalists such as Richard Dawkins and Wendy Kaminer and earning him the sarcastic nickname "Mr. Secular Humanism" from Pat Robertson. Indeed, Kurtz has been a perennial target of the religious right. Last February, the police contacted him to let him know he was on a hit list connected to an antiabortion rally in nearby Buffalo.

In 1978 Kurtz broke from the American Humanist Association to insist upon the necessity of rejecting religious thought. Updating the Humanist Manifesto signed by Dewey and other thinkers in 1933, Kurtz had already issued his own Humanist Manifesto in 1973. "We find insufficient evidence for belief in the existence of a supernatural; it is either meaningless or irrelevant to the question of survival and fulfillment of the human race," he decreed. "No deity will save us; we must save ourselves." Ethics, he affirmed, derive from "human need and interest." Reason and intelligence are the most useful tools humans possess; faith and passion are weak substitutes for independent thought. Secular humanism, in Kurtz's formulation, was an activist philosophy. Grasping that ethics is man-made, he argued, would stimulate

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people to work toward a fairer society, one free from dogma and mind-numbing ritual.

In 1980 Kurtz penned a follow-up Secular Humanist Declaration, which denounced the dangers of fundamentalist religion and "cults of unreason." And this September, the prolific thinker rolled out a millennial update: Humanist Manifesto III: A Call for a New Planetary Humanism, a fourteen-thousand-word document advocating a humanist response to ethnic cleansing, economic globalization, the anonymity of cyberspace, and other modern conundrums.

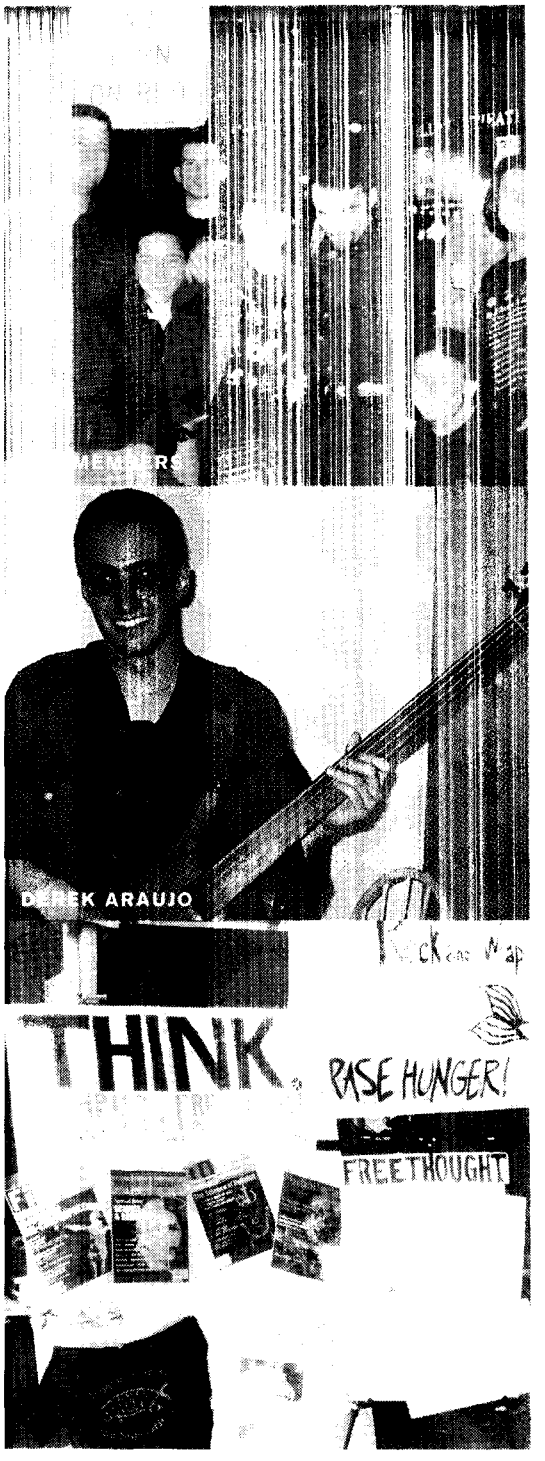
Over the last quarter century, Kurtz has become a veritable Rupert Murdoch of nonbelief, sponsoring hundreds of god-free institutions and publications. His own books—which range in style from hyper-academic to near self-help—number thirty-six, and include *Exuberance: An Affirmative Philosophy of Life* (1977), *A Skeptic's Handbook of Parapsychology* (1985), and *The Courage to Become: The Virtues of Humanism* (1997) (the last title being a sly dig at the existential theologian Paul Tillich, author of *The Courage to Be*).

In 1995 Kurtz established the Center for Inquiry (CFI) in Amherst. The center is an airy, hospitable structure complete with a glass display case full of snake-oil cures, a thirty-thousand-volume library, and busts of Darwin and Voltaire, not to mention a surreal mural of a humanist "last supper" in which Albert Einstein, Langston Hughes, and Margaret Sanger sit serenely side by side. The center supports two distinct organizations: the Council for Secular Humanism (CSH) and the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal (CSICOP). Each organization puts out a magazine. *Free Inquiry*, CSH's publication, aims to "promote and nurture the good life—life guided by reason and science, freed from the dogmas of God and state, inspired by compassion for fellow humans..." and features special issues on subjects such as "Rescuing Family Values From the Religious Right." The more gimlet-eyed *Skeptical Inquirer*, published by CSICOP, debunks alternative health scams, pseudoscience, and other extrarational phenomena.

Meanwhile, Kurtz's publishing company, Prometheus Press, adds one hundred new books a year to an extensive backlist that includes a Great Minds series with works by Voltaire, Julian and Thomas Huxley, and the Darwin-influenced German philosopher Ernst Haeckel. Kurtz's latest project is *Philo: The Journal of the Society of Humanist Philosophers*, a brand-new academic publication issued by CSH. Intended as a corrective to the growth of the Society of Christian Philosophers and the resurgence of belief in the universe as a product of "intelligent design," *Philo* features such articles as "Why Stephen Hawking's Cosmology Precludes a Creator," "Nonbelief vs. Lack of Evidence: Two Atheological Arguments," and "Legor et Legar: Schopenhauer's Atheistic Morality."

DESPITE KURTZ'S PROSELYTIZING, however, by 1996 the membership of the Council was aging steadily. "The humanist groups have always had a problem with too many gray hairs," notes Matt Cherry, the dapper British head of CSH's Los Angeles chapter. "It seemed as if the staff were the youngest people here." The few twenty-something council members were frustrated by the throwback atmosphere, and Kurtz realized that his life's work could die out with the center's mailing list. Was there an untapped youth market? Kurtz and Cherry had noticed an upswing in emails from college students, isolated nonbelievers either concerned about the growth of the religious right on their campus or else seeking a godless alternative to postmodern theory, one that didn't lead directly to French-tinged moral paralysis. From these emails, Kurtz compiled a list of potential members. In August 1996, CFI organizers gathered seven of these students at the center for a tentative constitutional congress.

The soft-spoken Derek Araujo, a Harvard graduate who is currently teaching high school physics, remembers that first meeting as a moment of exhilarating unity. "We were all concerned about growing fundamentalism, antihumanist tendencies, paranormal, and antiscience attitudes," he recalls of the initial session. "We voiced [our interest in] finding those students who were ostracized and cast out. And we decided to go for it." (Cherry, for one, was a bit startled by the militancy of the group: "I think one of the reasons for their success was their sense of being under attack [from the religious right].") The participants—three from the existing atheist group at the University of Maryland, the others from SUNY Buffalo,



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COURTESY CFA (3)

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Harvard, Marshall University in West Virginia, and Webster University in Missouri—drove to a restaurant near Niagara Falls to brainstorm. More cyber-savvy than their elders, they immediately established a listserv as well as a board of directors and made plans to connect existing campus organizations with one another. Then Araujo "walled himself off" and penned the CFA's Declaration of Necessity—a kind of Humanist Manifesto, Jr. "Too many secular humanists, atheists, and skeptics face the demands of college life alone," Araujo wrote. "We invite our fellow students to loft high the banner of rationality and to join us in this most necessary endeavor." The document was signed by forty-eight students and promptly emailed off to every likely free thought–friendly student or professor the founding members could pluck off the Web.

ARE COLLEGE ATHEISTS REALLY SO embattled? After all, studies show that undergraduates are somewhat less likely to believe in God when they leave school than when they enter. Christians regularly point to campus life as a den of nonbelief—or at the very least, of decadent apathy toward spiritual matters. Not so, says the CFA. Like college fraternities, well-funded religious groups provide a major attraction for unaffiliated students, offering them everything from dining halls to dates. The pressure to be "spiritual" is everywhere. Religion is increasingly prescribed in the press as the cure for youth problems, from teen pregnancy and drug use to adolescent ennui. The public appetite for New Age products—as evidenced by the success of *The Celestine Prophecy*, Deepak Chopra, and the television show *Touched by an Angel*, to cite just a few examples—continues to grow. Archaic laws in seven states still bar atheists from holding public office. And ritualized affirmation of piety is a requirement for politicos on the left and the right. In recent months, George W. Bush and Al Gore have each touted the concept of steering public charitable funds toward religious organizations. In May, Gore's policy advisor bragged, "The Democratic Party is going to take back God this time!" while Bush was already warning against the threat of youthful "superpredators"—kids who are "fatherless, jobless, and godless."

Meanwhile, the state of Kansas has removed evolution from its high school science curriculum, and in the wake of Littleton, a martyr cult has grown up around Cassie Bernall, a Columbine student who was shot after declaring her faith in God. The prevailing cultural message, CFA members fear, equates belief with virtue and nonbelief with barbarism.

If nontheists don't become more visible, say CFA leaders, others will define them as the enemy. "A lot of Americans buy into the stereotype of the immoral atheist as an 'out-to-destroy-the-foundations-of-society' type of person," notes Araujo. High school junior Micah White, head of one of the CFA's teenage offshoots, was shocked when his history teacher publicly compared White's newly founded teen atheist alliance to the trench coat mafia. And at Harvard (which even has a humanist chaplain), Araujo says students frequently told him that he was the first self-proclaimed atheist they'd ever met. "We take the philosophy that just by having a presence on campus, we can turn that around," he says.

It's this mission that has brought CFA members from the far reaches of British Columbia, Kentucky, Kansas, and Minnesota to the "Summer Slave Labor Workfest '99." At first sight, their Amherst group house resembles the crash pad of a typical twenty-year-old—Monty Python tapes, a garbage bag full of movie theater popcorn, and *The Moosewood Cookbook*. Then one notices an abundance of Darwin Fish stickers (the Christian "fish" symbol fitted with tiny cartoon legs), and, in the basement, tottering columns of books from Prometheus Press threatening to spill onto the unmade cots lined up dormitory style across the floor. A sign in the kitchen puckishly warns chore slackers: "Failure to abide by these rules will result in flogging, name-calling, and a trip to church."

There is, to be sure, a street-theater streak to this crew. Bertrand Russell, for one, might be startled to note the multiple nipple rings dangling from his philosophical offspring. Executive director Amanda Chesworth sports a tattoo on her arm of a fist clenching an atom symbol—an adaptation of a Hunter S. Thompson logo symbolizing that "writing is our most powerful weapon." (In Thompson's rendering, the hand clutched a crumpled piece of paper.) One mild-mannered volunteer left Amherst with a brand-new mohawk, dyed purple with Kool-Aid. But along with these flashes of flamboyance, there is a genuine intellectual intensity and seriousness of purpose. CFA members are passionate about their commitment to free thought as a moral stance requiring action, not just contemplation.

"I'M SO ASHAMED THAT THE HOUSE of Representatives voted that public schools can post the Ten Commandments on their walls," says Erika Hedberg, a student at the University of Missouri in Kansas City and an intern at *Free Inquiry*. The two of us are clipping flowering weeds from a swamp across the road from the group house, prepping decorations for that night's banquet. Erika snips vehemently at a handful of purple buds. "It makes me embarrassed to be American," she says. Hedberg was born Catholic, but never confirmed. At CFI's Kansas City center she was "unbaptized." "You get a hair dryer blown on you," she explains with a grin. "You get a certificate."

At her upcoming wedding, she adds, she's planning to have a humanist ceremony, complete with quotes from Robert Green Ingersoll, the "Great Agnostic," a now-forgotten celebrity orator of the late-nineteenth century and a hero of the secular humanist movement. The son of a Presbyterian minister and a supporter of numerous Republican politicians—he gave the "Plumed Knight" nomination speech for 1876 presidential prospect James G. Blaine—Ingersoll thrilled audiences across the nation with his orations on atheism, women's rights, African-American civil rights, Darwinism, and Shakespeare.

Hedberg was led to CFI by her philosophy teacher. The story sounds like a pious parent's worst nightmare: A godless professor leads his student astray. In fact, academic classes do provide the most frequent instigation for students to become secular humanists, with members citing semesters in Darwinism, philosophy, and history as classic conversion experiences. Hedberg and I join Jason Loxton, a voluble twenty-one-year-old from British Columbia on the front lawn. Sipping white wine and listening to Tom Waits, we fall easily into a classic "what's life about?" freshman-year-style rap session. "The thing about not believing in an afterlife," says Loxton, flopping wings of ketchup-colored hair, "is that it's *ennobling* and *enabling*. It forces

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you to recognize the responsibilities of life—there's just no justification for any suffering to exist." According to Christian thought, Hedberg adds, the more you suffer the better you are. Thus, it's easy to allow injustice to exist, since it will all be resolved by God. Secular humanism, the two aver, is a better foundation for both moral behavior and tolerance. "Integrity is very important to humanists," says Hedberg. "There are such things as bad people and good people. The delineation comes in the way you live your life and treat others."

Like most members of the CFA, Hedberg and Loxton are classic political liberals. They support racial equality, women's rights, gay and lesbian liberation, sexual freedom, environmentalist causes, and—most of all—the separation of church and state. But they are disenchanted with the jargon-laden theorizing that passes for political activism on many campuses. "I think postmodernism is a big, fat excuse for sitting on your ass and doing nothing," says Loxton. "I'll tell you a little anecdote: I approached our student union, looking for a bit of funding for stickers and buttons. They said, we can give you a hundred bucks, but go hit up the women's center. So I start to explain to the women's center liaison what skepticism and free inquiry are all about. She says, 'That sounds like you're preaching a religion.' I said, 'By *definition* I'm not religious.' Then she threw in, 'Well, you're saying there are moral absolutes. I don't believe there are any moral absolutes.' 'What about *rape*?' I said to her. 'That's just plain wrong!' But she's postmodernist all the way, and she actually said, 'It's only wrong if you think it's wrong. In some cases it is relative.'" Loxton shrugs in disgust. "Finally, she blurted out, 'Actually, I believe in magic.' I left disappointed. Essentially, you can't get more of an amoral philosophy! She's a nice woman, but this sort of attitude is just what arises out of that system of belief." (Not all CFAers reject Foucault & Co. out of hand: Chesworth shrugged at a recent listserv slam calling her a "po-mo," noting, "There's theory that's useful, as long as you stay focused on the pragmatic.")

Loxton says he comes from a "crazy hippie" family where his atheism was accepted. And the CFA's public relations director Chris Mooney had a beloved biologist grandfather who referred to Charles Darwin as "Chuck." But many CFA members come from religious—even fundamentalist—backgrounds and have been rejected by their parents after leaving their faith. Araujo recalls a Muslim student who received death threats from his community upon becoming a nonbeliever. Gabriel Carlson, born to devout Italian Catholics, says he struggled with depression and alienation before emerging as a humanist activist. As we talk, Carlson reclines on the living room couch in his trademark skull-printed shorts and bleached-blond baby-duck hair tufts. "I really tried to convince myself that there is an afterlife," he muses of his adolescent crisis. "My dad was a psychologist, so I used a writing assignment as a pretext to ask if, under hypnosis, people could be convinced to believe in the afterlife. I tell that to Christians a lot: If I could believe and have any intellectual integrity, I'd do it." Now a student at the University of Minnesota and head of one of the oldest and most active chapters of the alliance, Carlson says he views human mortality as "a positive thing, since it really forces me to seize every day."

In some parts of the country, secular humanists say, it is as difficult to be godless as it is to be gay. "I'm the right's worst nightmare," jokes D.J. Grothe, who came out as both gay and atheist at Ambassador University, an Evangelical Christian school in Big Sandy, Texas. Coming out as atheist, he says, was by far more difficult. "I was the Christian in my dorm in college who reminded people that they weren't behaving like Christians," says Grothe. "I had my little niche, and it appealed to my spiritual vanities." Then, in his sophomore year, he read ex-nun Karen Armstrong's *A History of God* (1993), which treats the Creator as a cultural construct. When he attempted to discuss the book, one of his favorite professors suggested he throw it away. Shaken, Grothe had a minor nervous breakdown. He turned to philosophy. "I began with an ambitious attempt to read the intellectual history of the Western World, which is, of course, a lost cause," he recalls with a laugh. "I found Nietzsche: 'A very popular error: having the courage of one's convictions; rather it is a matter of having the courage for an attack on one's convictions.' When you begin that dialogue with yourself, the whole thing crumbles. If God exists, you ain't gonna prove it on paper,

FROM TOP: ARCHIVE PHOTOS/CFA/ARCHIVE PHOTOS

KURTZ IS A VERITABLE RUPERT MURDOCH OF NON-BELIEF, SPONSORING HUNDREDS OF GOD-FREE INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLICATIONS.

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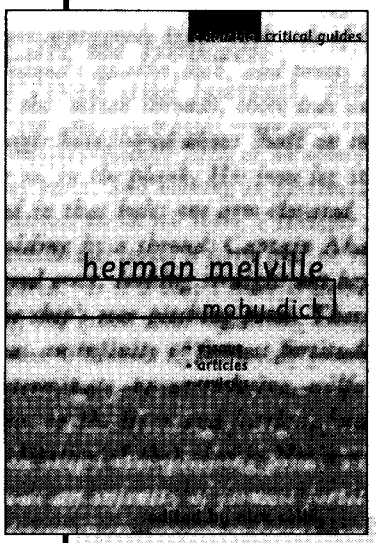

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you need personal experience. And I never had it. God never spoke to me."

Tempted to leave the school, Grothe nonetheless decided to remain in what he generally found to be a loving and secure environment. The very professor who had discouraged his reading made a trip to his room to see whether he was okay. He remained discreet about his atheism, telling only a few friends and professors. Still, word spread: "I wasn't shunned, but it was a shock, and it sent ripples. I got emails saying, 'you of all people, this is a test of your faith, you'll be a minister, just wait and see.'" Since graduation, Grothe has entered an interdisciplinary master's program in history and philosophy at Washington University in St. Louis. He's currently studying the German Enlightenment and is a member of the Washington University League of Freethinkers. (Their slogan: "Don't Be a Sheep, Be a WULF.") The organization, he notes, has an amicable relationship with the local Campus Crusade for Christ—as many CFA groups do, since religious groups often co-sponsor debates with their ideological opposites, winning converts and publicity for both organizations. "We're all going to the Billy Graham crusade together," he says.

SEVERAL HOURS AFTER THE INAUGURAL performance of the CFA band, the post-banquet bash is reaching a climax. I wend my way from the grooving crowd on the front porch—the band performing an encore, "No, I *won't* say Lord have mercy!"—past a group of middle-aged men bellowing, "War: What is it good for?" and on into the kitchen. There, I find CFAers congregated around Richard Wiseman, a psychologist at the University of Hertfordshire and a member of the parapsychology-busting wing of the movement. Tomorrow morning, as part of the Center for Inquiry's weeklong summer session, Wiseman, an antic, self-deprecating orator, will present videos unmasking New Age scams and offer a compassionate summary of "believer psychology." To spread enlightenment, he will urge humanists to propound media-savvy lessons in critical thinking rather than employ an "us vs. them" approach. (Though it's hard to imagine that believers would not be insulted by his analysis, in which they come across as fuzzy-minded, psychologically damaged, and not all that bright.) At the moment, however, Wiseman, once a professional magician, is busy performing close-range card tricks in the kitchen. "Have a Purple Humanist!" interrupts Loxton, merrily pressing a thick alcoholic milkshake of a drink on me.

There is, it's clear, a distinctive free-thought culture of a sort. Many CFA members seem to take seriously Great Agnostic Ingersoll's declaration that "a smile is the dawn of doubt." In-your-face T-shirts abound, printed with slogans such as ATHEISM: IT'S NOT JUST FOR BREAKFAST ANYMORE, or silk-screens of Christ alongside the words HAVE YOU SEEN THIS GUY? I HAVEN'T EITHER. At a secular humanist rally in Houston on Darwin Day (February 12) this year, a demonstrator dressed in a monkey suit accosted observers, yelling "Accept me! I'm one of you!"

It's sometimes a struggle for CFA organizers to prevent the jocularity of new recruits from degenerating into straight-out religion bashing—an activity that secular humanists are eager to quash, and which they identify with the rival American Atheists movement founded by the (disappeared, and most likely murdered) rabble-rouser Madalyn Murray O'Hair. Their organization is not, they insist, merely a campus crusade against Christ. But for some people, notes Araujo, the role of "Socratic gadfly" comes naturally. "It's a stage people go through," adds Mooney, grimacing slightly. He recalls his eagerness to act as a devil's advocate through an atheistic newspaper column called Finding Dog that he wrote while attending Yale. "We want to move past first-level atheism, the kind where you have to respond to every Bible quote," Mooney says. "We want to say what we do believe and not just what we don't believe." Middle-aged members of the CSH seem, as a whole, more prone to believer-baiting than the CFA; one of the few sour notes of the conference is a queasily wrongheaded film about a child-molesting priest. Still, the college alliance doesn't always take the higher ground. One potential fund-raising idea under discussion is a stress ball in the shape of Pat Robertson's head.

As I sip my Purple Humanist, a debate breaks out in the kitchen doorway. It's a tactical dispute: Should CFA chapters maintain two separate organizations, one for

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SECULAR HUMANISTS HAVE OFTEN BEEN ACCUSED BY THEIR ENEMIES OF CREATING A RELIGION IN DISGUISE.

debunking the paranormal, and one for the advancement of secular humanism? Yes, says Amanda Chesworth. No, says Jason Loxton. He runs a CFA chapter at tiny Camosun College in British Columbia and argues that it's impractical to separate a small rationalist population into two groups. Chesworth counters that it's important to include the more rational-minded religious believers, who would be attracted to the debunking project, and that maintaining the dual system would keep the CFA's structure "parallel" to that of its parent institution. In this debate there are raised voices, frequent interruptions, and manic gesticulating, but as I listen, I decide it all seems healthy. Such tactical disputes are necessary growing pains as the CFA adjusts to a wide range of campus settings. And in the end, like good critical thinkers, the debaters agree to disagree until further evidence emerges.

SECULAR HUMANISTS HAVE OFTEN BEEN accused by their enemies of creating a religion in disguise. What is humanism, anyway, other than an effort to turn man into God? That argument is debatable: If rituals and shared values define a religion, everything from Chicago Cubs fans to the Republican Party would qualify. Still, the Campus Freethought Alliance, like the Center for Inquiry, faces its own contradictions. Members view secular humanist philosophy as a defense against the worst excesses of identity politics—nationalistic cliques, the brutality of religious isolationists, prejudice of all stripes. These divisions would be wiped out, they say, if people would recognize the simple humanity we all hold in common. "The problem of evil," says Kurtz, "breaks the back of God." Yet the CFA is *itself* a clique—deliberately so, since it aims to provide students with an out-loud-and-proud secular humanist identity with which to withstand, in Kurtz's phrase, "the transcendental temptation." And cliquishness has its costs. Reading the entries on the CFA listserv, one frequently sees members accusing one another of "uncritical thinking" rather than actually arguing with each other. "Critical thinking," like any other buzzword, can become a substitute for actual thought.

Of course, the CFA's closely knit style is no accident. Religion, Kurtz readily acknowledges, satisfies emotional needs that are particularly acute among college students: for community, for identity, and for security in an uncertain future. At Yale, notes Mooney, he used to eat at Hillel's kosher dining hall, despite the fact that he wasn't Jewish, simply because it was a great place to hang out. In the world the CFA envisions, Mooney could hang out at a Humanist Union instead. Events such as Superstition Bash, Darwin Day, Banned Book Week, and Freethought Day (October 12, the day in 1692 that Massachusetts courts banned spectral evidence from the Salem witch trials) are intended to match the ritual and festivities of Christmas and Passover, while simultaneously publicizing secular humanist values and history.

There are other efforts afoot to formalize and ritualize the movement's ideas. Secular Organizations for Sobriety has provided a nonreligious alternative to AA for almost fifteen years. This May, the Young Freethinkers Alliance, a high school version of the CFA, was inaugurated. Camp Quest, a secular summer camp for kids aged eight to thirteen, has been operating for four years. And the budding Secular Family Network aims to meet the "unique needs of non-religious families." Ironically, the newfound popularity of religious charities may work to the advantage of the secular humanists. If politicians begin channeling more public funds through religious groups, they will probably have to subsidize secular groups as well.

For university students, the secular humanist campaign could even extend to the curriculum. In an interview with *Lingua Franca*, Kurtz proposed establishing a secular studies major—the ultimate identity politics coup. "You could call it humanistic studies, perhaps, or naturalistic philosophy," he says. Getting approval is a lengthy process, but Kurtz is confident he will succeed. The center, he notes, has been offering courses for years. Academic recognition would have larger repercussions: a new generation of secular humanists with expert status. "We need to develop new leaders among unbelievers," he says firmly. (CFA members don't necessarily endorse the idea. Derek Araujo seems startled by the suggestion. "Off the top of my head, it wouldn't be something I'd major in," he says, "though I can see the usefulness of having courses for credit.... I don't know how appropriate it would be as a major.")

Is the CFA in danger of giving in to groupthink, institutionalizing its ideas to such an extent that they form a cage rather than a ladder? In the words of a tool of prophecy CSICOP would surely disdain, "Answer unclear, ask again later." Certainly, there's something undeniably admirable about the freethinkers' passion for clarity, responsibility, and social action. Students in the CFA, at least the ones present this weekend, seem models of intellectual vibrancy, combining theatrical joie de vivre with serious social purpose. And while rituals like the unbaptism in Kansas City may sound silly at first hearing, they provide a shot of energy to what might otherwise be a dry movement—transforming abstract concepts into memorable bonding experiences. (If secular humanists can't dance, who would want to be part of their revolution?) Finally, and perhaps most importantly, a public organization for nonbelievers serves as a warm haven for the CFA's most vulnerable members—those at smaller, more conservative schools and those from fundamentalist families.

With such good intentions, where will the CFA's road lead? With careful thought, the group hopes to avoid some of the pitfalls of other campus organizations. But perhaps we should heed the words of a more appropriate source than the magic eight ball: the Great Agnostic Robert Ingersoll, at whose centennial celebration earlier this summer, near his birthplace in upstate New York, the musicians of the House Judiciary Committee held their very first paid gig. Too much doubt, Ingersoll maintained, is, in the end, better than too much credulity.

Emily Nussbaum is a contributing writer for *LF*. Her article "The Sex That Dare Not Speak Its Name" appeared in the May/June issue.

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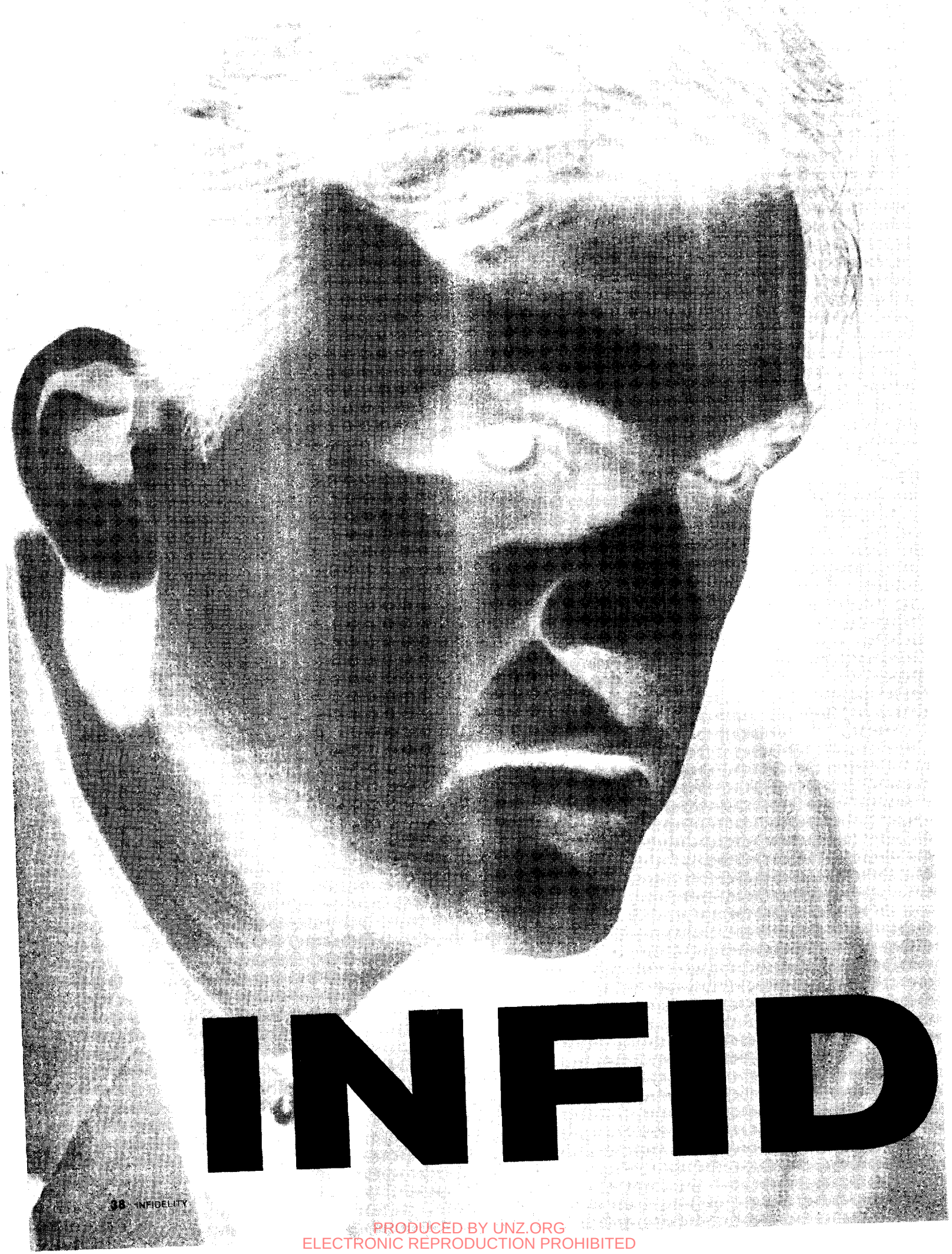

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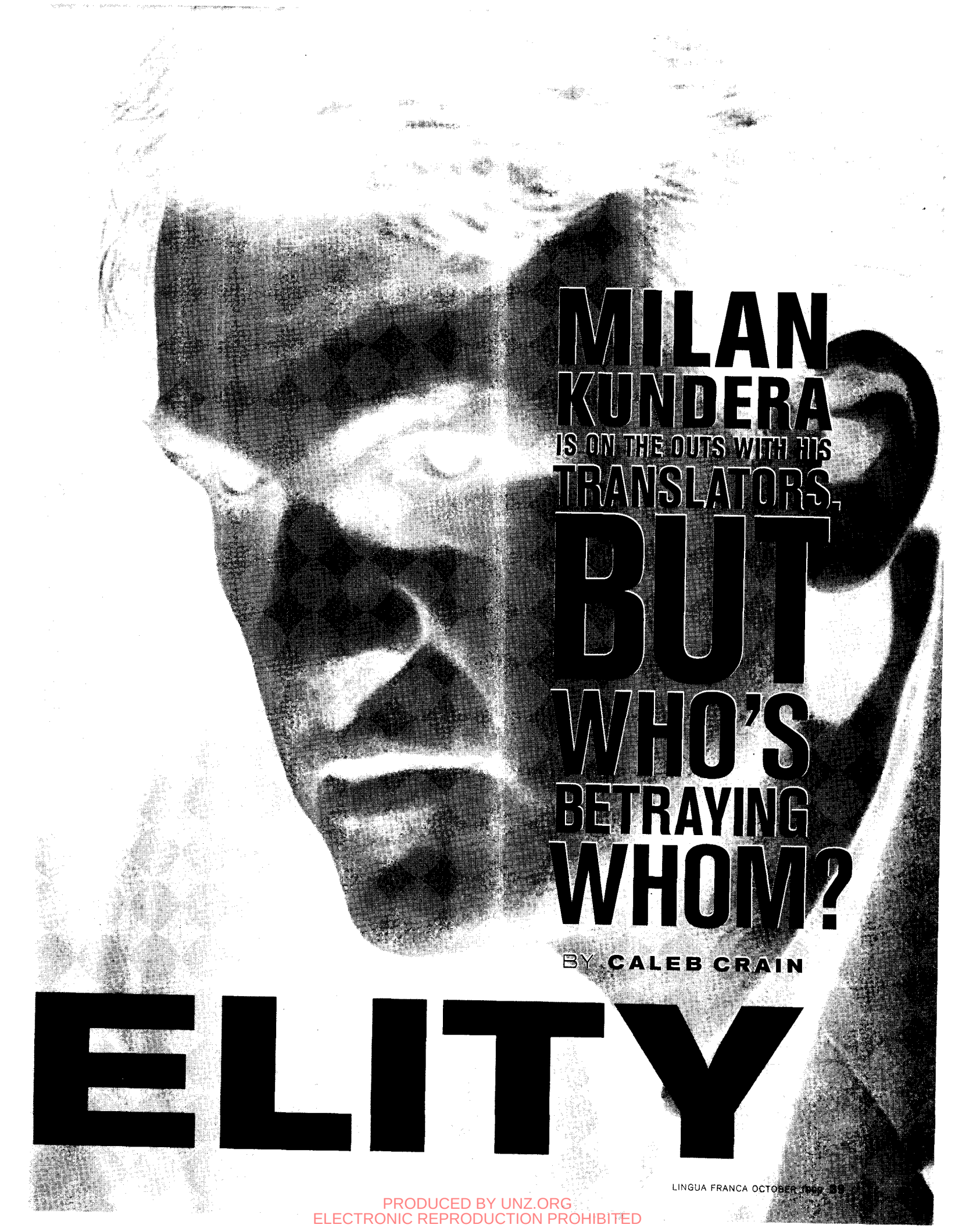

MILAN KUNDERA IS ON THE OUTS WITH HIS TRANSLATORS. BUT WHO'S BETRAYING WHOM?

BY CALEB CRAIN

ELITY

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IN *THE BOOK OF LAUGHTER AND Forgetting*, the Czech-born novelist Milan Kundera neatly epitomized what makes translation impossible. His specimen was the Czech word *lítost*. On the one hand, he writes, *lítost* means too much: "It designates a feeling as infinite as an open accordion, a feeling that is the synthesis of many others: grief, sympathy, remorse, and an indefinable longing." No word in any other language casts a semantic penumbra with the same range and chiaroscuro. But on the other hand, *lítost* means too little. "Under certain circumstances," Kundera explains, *lítost* "can have a very narrow meaning, a meaning as definite, precise, and sharp as a well-honed cutting edge." And no word in any other language leaves a semantic footprint exactly the same size and shape.

Among his fans, Kundera's discussion of *lítost* is famous. However, if you buy *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* today, you won't find the two sentences just quoted. They've been excised. They were in the Czech original and in the English translation by UCLA professor Michael Henry Heim that appeared in 1980. But in the recent translation by Aaron Asher, issued by HarperCollins in 1996, the sentences do not appear. Nor are they in the current French edition, which is the basis of Asher's work. And you won't find any Czech edition of *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* in print at all.

"To cross out what one has written is a highly creative act," Kundera once told an interviewer. No doubt Kundera himself deleted the lines about *lítost,* perhaps because he no longer stands by them. For a decade and a half, Kundera has crusaded against unfaithful translations, and in the course of that campaign, his own generalizations about untranslatability may have begun to sound too much like a sloppy translator's excuse. "He began to be obsessed," explains Asher, Kundera's longtime American editor and new French-to-English translator. "Maybe that's too strong a word; maybe I shouldn't use it; but there are good obsessions."

The crusade has been effective, but at a cost. In America, Kundera's most famous novels have been reappearing in brand-new translations, which follow his Czech originals more closely in vocabulary, syntax, and even punctuation. But oddly enough, these new versions—all authorized by Kundera—are translated from the French, rather than directly from Czech. They sometimes read awkwardly; in the circuitous journey from Czech to French to English, flavor and details have been lost, and mistakes have been introduced. Furthermore, while retranslating his novels, Kundera has also been rewriting them—sometimes tailoring them to his audience. As Allison Stanger, a political science professor at Middlebury College, noted in an open letter to Kundera in the *New England Review*, "Your Czech audience now reads one version of [*The Joke*] while your French- and English-language audiences read quite another."

Every author has the right to be finicky, even ornery, about his masterpieces. But a perfect translation may be a contradiction in terms. Is Kundera damaging his books and reputation for the sake of an unreachable ideal? Between Kundera and his translators, the air is thick with feelings of betrayal. *Lítost*, roughly speaking, is the Czech word for "regret," and Kundera seems to be learning the hard way that you can't have translation without it.

MILAN KUNDERA rose to the world's attention hand-in-hand with the news of his homeland's political hard luck. Westerners sympathetic to the Prague Spring—the brief thaw in totalitarian communism crushed in 1968—read Kundera all the more sympathetically because of it. The novelist seemed to be the world representative of "Czech Fate," to borrow the title of a fatalistic essay he wrote shortly after the Russians invaded his country. That essay infuriated a young dissident named Václav Havel, and time proved Havel right: Kundera's moody pessimism made for bad politics. But it made for good novels. In the 1980s, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* and *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* became international best-sellers thanks to the dark gifts that, in Kundera's opinion, the Czechs' political destiny had bestowed on them—a melancholy thoughtfulness, a taste for existential paradox, and a talent for sexual libertinage.

But despite the push that political history gave him, Kundera has always stoutly defended his novels from politics per se. During the Cold War, he even-handedly loathed both his communist censors and the Westerners who saw him as a dissident. "Spare me your Stalinism, please," he snapped in 1980 at a TV panelist who suggested that his first novel was a critique of Soviet totalitarianism. "*The Joke* is a love story."

If nothing else, Kundera's experience of communism taught him that literary stubbornness pays off. In December 1965 Kundera had submitted to his Prague publisher the manuscript of *The Joke*. In the novel, a young man mails his girlfriend a postcard containing ironic praise of Trotsky; failing to appreciate the young man's sense of humor, the Stalinist authorities who intercept the postcard ruin his life.

Throughout the following year, censors summoned Kundera to their offices to request changes in the novel. As Kundera steadfastly refused, the censors became meeker and meeker, until finally their objections vanished altogether. In 1967 *The Joke* was published untouched, just as Kundera wanted it. Three editions quickly sold out—120,000 copies, in a country of only fifteen million people. Kundera launched his career as a novelist with a triumph over editorial meddling.

That triumph was short-lived. In August 1968 Russian military force ended the Czech experiment in "socialism with a human face." Paradoxically, however, the capitalist West was first to insult the integrity of Kundera's novels. In 1969, while still in Prague, Kundera received the British edition of *The Joke*. Chapters had been shortened, shuffled, and deleted altogether. "I was appalled," Kundera later remembered. In a scorching letter to the *Times Literary Supplement*, he denounced his British publisher for having "merely considered my text as a free basis for bizarre inventions of manipulators."

Soon after, as Moscow directed the "normalization" of Czech culture, Kundera lost his job teaching at a film school, and his books were pulled from libraries and stores in Czechoslovakia. It would be a decade before Kundera was at liberty, economically as well as politically, to take his translations personally in hand. But the seeds had been sown: Kundera had won an early victory over editorial tampering, and witnessed outrageous infidelities in the translation of his first novel. When at last Kundera was able to examine his translations closely, he would not be inclined to compromise.

IN 1975 Kundera left his homeland and took up residence in France, where he has lived ever since. Four years later a shock revived Kundera's anxiety about

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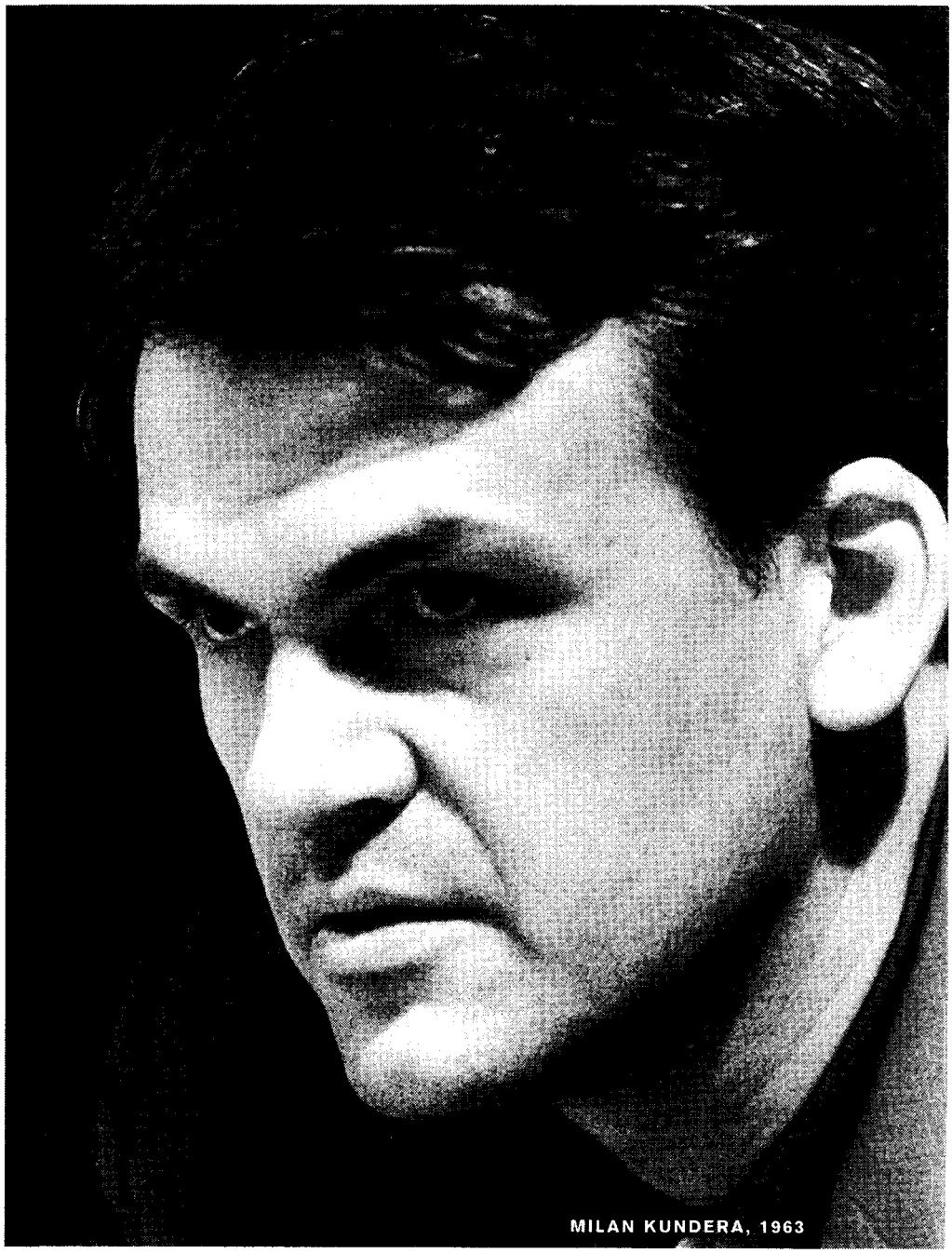
translation. During an interview for the Italian newspaper *Corriere della sera*, Alain Finkielkraut asked Kundera why his recent novels had moved away from the "florid and baroque" style of *The Joke*.

Kundera had no idea what Finkielkraut was talking about. In Czech, Kundera has always been distinguished by his tempered, almost neutral prose style—a difficult achievement in that language. Thanks to the Counter Reformation, the gap between spoken and written Czech is wider than in most other languages. In 1621 the Czech-speaking nobles, largely Protestant, were decimated; the Catholic Church labeled almost all books in Czech heretical; and for two centuries, Czech survived as a language spoken mostly by peasants and the urban lower class. Rip van Winkle slept for only one generation; written Czech slept for six or seven. When it was self-consciously resuscitated, in the early nineteenth century, it sounded a bit medieval, and that formality has not yet mellowed. Writers like Jaroslav Hašek, Bohumil Hrabal, and Josef Škvorecký have taken literary advantage of the contrast between written and spoken Czech by reveling in dialect and slang. Kundera, however, has eschewed low and high for a careful middle path. His style is relaxed but always correct, somewhat like a medical manual for home use.

The night after his interview with Finkielkraut, Kundera read Marcel Aymonin's French translation of *The Joke* for the first time. On top of Kundera's deliberately restrained prose, Aymonin had layered *un beau style*, the way decadents used to drill jewels into living turtles' shells for ornament. Where Kundera had written "The sky was blue," Aymonin had translated "Under a sky of periwinkle, October hoisted its showy shield." Kundera was furious. "Rage seized me," he later recalled. Spurred by that rage, Kundera revised the French translation, with the help of author Claude Courtot. A more faithful French edition appeared in 1980. The rage also triggered a cascade of retranslations of *The Joke* in other languages—English (1982), Spanish (1984), Italian and Portuguese (1986), German (1987), and Dutch (1988)—as Kundera took advantage of his growing prestige to switch to more attentive publishers.

In the United States, meanwhile, Kundera seemed to be having better luck. The first American to translate a book of



MILAN KUNDERA, 1963

CTK/SOVFOTO

FOR A DECADE AND A HALF, KUNDERA HAS CRUSADED AGAINST UNFAITHFUL TRANSLATIONS. "HE BEGAN TO BE OBSESSED," EXPLAINS HIS LONGTIME AMERICAN EDITOR.

Kundera's was Peter Kussi. (I studied Czech with Kussi at Columbia.) Kundera himself had solicited Kussi's help, through Antonín Liehm, a mutual friend who had edited the journal *Literární noviny* during the Prague Spring. Kussi's 1974 translation of Kundera's novel *Life Is Elsewhere* was nominated for a National Book Award.

Pleased with Kussi's work, Kundera requested that Kussi also translate his *Farewell Waltz*, which appeared under the title *The Farewell Party* in 1976. And in

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STILLS FROM *THE JOKE*, 1968

IN 1967 "THE JOKE" WAS PUBLISHED UNTOUCHED, JUST AS KUNDERA WANTED IT. HE LAUNCHED HIS CAREER AS A NOVELIST WITH A TRIUMPH OVER EDITORIAL MEDDLING.

the late 1970s Kussi translated a couple of new short stories by Kundera. At the time, no one—not even Kundera—realized the stories would eventually fit together into the novel *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*. Kussi's version of "The Cap of Clementis" appeared in *The New Yorker* in May 1979. Shortly thereafter, Knopf refused to allow Kussi to continue as Kundera's translator. "This parting I ascribe to the machinations of editors," Kussi says today. Kundera himself has written that Knopf's "reasons [were] obscure to me" and that at the time Kussi "had all my confidence." One gets the impression there was confusion on all sides but no hard feelings between translator and author.

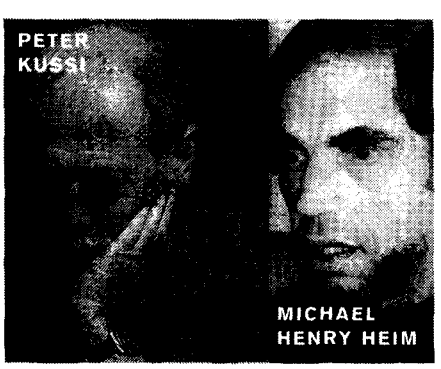
Luckily for Kundera, Knopf replaced Kussi with a translator just as devoted and skillful, UCLA's Michael Henry Heim. Years earlier, Heim had translated for a scholarly journal a chapter from *The Joke* that had been gutted from the British translation. Kundera was "deeply touched by this noble gesture of solidarity with mistreated, humiliated literature," and at first he thought as highly of his new translator as he had of Kussi. In Heim's 1980 translation, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* was a literary and commercial success. Heim's clean, fluent style appeared to be the perfect vehicle for Kundera's sparely told, interlocking stories of sexual and political disillusionment.

The concord would not last. By this point, a new figure had entered the story—a high-profile American editor named Aaron Asher. Perhaps Kundera would eventually have fallen out with Heim in any case. But, as Kundera's editor, Asher was closely involved with their earliest disagreements. "He is the mystery man," Smith College professor Maria Němcová Banerjee says when Asher's name comes up. Asher commissioned Banerjee to write *Terminal Paradox* (Grove Weidenfeld, 1990), her study of Kundera's novels, and he has done good turns for many of the other figures in the Kundera saga as well. But over the years, while Kundera has become more reclusive—he stopped talking to journalists in 1985—Asher has become more and more the author's intimate.

Asher's privileged access has aroused curiosity and suspicion, as has his metamorphosis from Kundera's editor into his translator. He has become something of a lightning rod for anger about Kundera's high-handedness. "I'm behind the eight ball," says Asher. He insists his goal throughout has been to ensure more faithful translations for Kundera, and he is unhappy about "having to defend something that needs no defense." To dispel some of the mystery surrounding his relationship with Kundera, Asher offers his own account.

Since the early 1970s Asher had been hearing about Kundera from Philip Roth, whose books Asher edited. Another Asher author, Carlos Fuentes, finally introduced him to Kundera in 1979. Kundera was eager for an American publisher who would accommodate his scrupulous attention to translations, and Asher soon lured him to Harper & Row. Heim was asked to continue as Kundera's translator. "I admired Heim's translation of *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*," Asher says now. He commissioned from Heim a brand-new translation of *The Joke*, as well as translations of a new manuscript (*The Unbearable Lightness of Being*) and an older play (*Jacques and His Master*). As Asher himself admits, these commissions would turn out to be something of an irony in light of later events.

Trouble started in the mid-1980s, when Kundera began to look over Heim's



TOP: PHOTOFEST (2X); BOTTOM, FROM LEFT: COURTESY PETER KUSSI AND MICHAEL HENRY HEIM

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working translation of *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*. "Kundera's English had gotten good enough for him to express doubts to me," Asher says. According to Asher, Kundera flagged passages that struck him as problematic and asked for Asher's opinion. Revising the translation was "very difficult," Asher remembers, in part because fax machines were not yet common. But editor and author worked over the proofs for months—Kundera writing in French, Asher replying in English. "What irksome months they were!" Kundera told an interviewer shortly afterward.

It was Asher's first experience working so closely with Kundera's prose—a collabortion that would soon deepen. Nonetheless, Asher insists, the result "wasn't a retranslation by any means. *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* is Heim's translation; it has his signature on it."

Heim recalls the process of revising *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* somewhat differently. "I had quite an exchange of letters with Kundera," Heim explains, "but as the correspondence was in Czech, Asher was out of the loop." According to Heim, the back-and-forth between translator and author was "perfectly amiable." Some points Heim conceded, and on others he stood his ground.

At least publicly, there was, as yet, no sign of a rift.

EVEN KUNDERA has wondered: "An undue obsession with translations? I can't say." In his own defense, Kundera has pointed out that for nearly two decades, Czechs formed only a hundredth or a thousandth of his readership. "My books lived their lives as translations; as translations they were read, criticized, judged, accepted or rejected. I was unable not to care about translation."

Attentive, however, is not the same as implacable. In Kundera's case, an exile's natural concern has been aggravated by a philosophy of translation that is unusually hardline.

Traditionally, the translator has been caught, like the runner in a game of pickle, between fidelity and license. Neither base is safe. If he is strictly faithful to the original text's linguistic structure, the result may be choppy, if not incomprehensible. But if he freely recasts the original text's structure in order to convey its meaning clearly, he risks losing the linguistic details

KUNDERA IS ELSEWHERE

IN THE MID-1980S, WHEN MILAN KUNDERA CHOSE TO PUBLISH THE authorized edition of his works in French rather than Czech, he could have argued that history had forced his hand. While they held power, the Czech Communists were never going to let their most famous exile come home, and at the time no one knew the Velvet Revolution was less than five years away. But Kundera rubbed salt in the wounds of his fellow Czechs. He declared, "Even if I could go back I would never wish to!" And since the Velvet Revolution of 1989, with rare exceptions, he hasn't. When he does go, he travels incognito—a fact Czech journalists have twitted Kundera for, when they have detected his presence at all.

Kundera-twitting is something of a national sport. Any downturn in Kundera's post-Czech career is headline worthy—NEGATIVE REVIEWS OF KUNDERA'S NEW NOVEL and UNFAVORABLE RECEPTION OF KUNDERA'S BOOKS are two recent examples. A few years ago, the novelist Michal Viewegh satirized Kundera as returning home, like the hero of *The Joke*, for a "beautiful demolition"—the seduction of Mrs. Václav Havel. "Sadly I must devote most of my time to correcting the work of my translators," Viewegh's Kundera complained. "Whenever I think of it, rage seizes me. Instead of my original sentence 'I plunged my index finger into her glowing buttocks,' one Spanish translator shamelessly used a text of his own with the wording 'I kissed her chilly face.'" For Kundera's seventieth birthday, this past April, *Lidové noviny* printed an article tailor-made to grate on the author's nerves. The paper's editors baited Kundera on "the querulousness with which he intends to keep his work under his control." They wrote that his crystalline style today risks being "relegated to the level of kitsch." And they reprinted an unflattering observation from *Le Journal du Dimanche*: The more Kundera resembles the French, the less he interests them.

CZECH EDITIONS OF KUNDERA'S NOVELS

Why are the Czechs out to get Kundera's goat? In part, they are annoyed that he and his Czech publisher, Atlantis, have released his books so slowly. Kundera's writing was once available in Czech from 68 Publishers, run by the émigré authors Josef and Zdena Škvorecký in Toronto. But before the Velvet Revolution, it was dangerous to smuggle the books into Czechoslovakia, and soon after, the Škvoreckýs closed up shop. As a result, some of Kundera's most famous Czech-written novels—*The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, and *Life Is Elsewhere*—have never been widely available in the Czech-speaking lands. (Kundera refuses to rerelease them until he has established definitive Czech texts—a task he may or may not choose to undertake.) Nor has Kundera yet announced any plans to translate into Czech the books he has written in French: *The Art of the Novel*, *Testaments Betrayed*, *Slowness*, and *Identity*.

Kundera has answered these reproaches with a mix of self-deprecation and self-importance. On the one hand, he has claimed to be "not at all sure that [the

continued on page 45

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that make it distinctive as a work of literature. As one Italian proverb puts it, "The pretty ones are never faithful, and the faithful ones are never pretty."

In "The Task of the Translator," the German critic Walter Benjamin famously resolves this conundrum with an extreme choice: fidelity, at the expense of elegance and meaning. Choppiness is good, Benjamin asserts, because it indicates that the translator has not smoothed away the details that distinguish the original from the target language—and from the pure language they both aspire to become. Benjamin's theory of translation soars beautifully into the empyrean, but it's not entirely practical. Though he advocates "a literal rendering of the syntax" of the original, Benjamin acknowledges that his strategy is "a direct threat to comprehensibility."

Nonetheless, Kundera has adopted something like Benjamin's radical fidelity (shorn, however, of the Romantic notion of "pure language"). "O ye translators, do not sodonymize us!" he writes in an essay that excoriates French translators of Kafka for showing off their synonymicons. Like Benjamin, Kundera eggs his translators even to solecism. "For a translator, the supreme authority should be the *author's personal style*," Kundera writes in *Testaments Betrayed* (1993). "But most translators obey another authority: that of the *conventional version* of 'good French' (or good German, good English, etc.)." It exasperates Kundera to hear a translation praised for its "flow." He cherishes even the idiosyncrasies of his punctuation, and has boasted that he "once left a publisher for the sole reason that he tried to change my semicolons to periods."

In less polemical moments, Kundera has conceded that no translation can be absolutely faithful. He insists, however, that a translator unafraid of odd-sounding language will not only render the author's style and thinking more accurately but also enrich the target language.

This rigid fealty is not the norm—at least not according to translators and scholars of translation. "To be too close to the original, as Kundera wants his translators to be, undermines the English poetics of the text and works against, rather than in favor of, the translation," says the University of British Columbia's Peter Petro, who edited *Critical Essays on Milan Kundera* (G.K. Hall, 1999) and is himself a Slovak-English translator. In the opinion of Robert Wechsler, whose publishing house, Catbird Press, has exposed American readers to lesser-known Czech authors such as Vladimír Páral and Jáchym Topol, Kundera "should be seen as an extremist."

STILL FROM *THE UNBEARABLE LIGHTNESS OF BEING*, 1988

NEAL PETERS COLLECTIONS

IN 1988 Daniel Day-Lewis and Juliette Binoche starred in Philip Kaufman's movie version of *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*. "Not my film," Kundera grumbled in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, complaining of the "doleful monotony of film orgasms." But the movie pushed Kundera's international reputation to its peak. That year, Kundera finished his seventh book of fiction, *Immortality*—the last he would write in Czech—and, thanks to his movie-enhanced clout, he was in a position to dictate terms. Returning to his earlier translator was one priority. "He wanted Kussi," recalls Asher, who had moved from Harper & Row to Grove Press. For the first time in his translation career, Kussi was well paid—"very well paid," he admits. To ensure that the translation met Kundera's standards, author and translator agreed that as soon as Kussi had finished his draft, he would bring it to Paris for consultation. Once the two men agreed on a final version, "that would pretty much be it," says Kussi.

"But that *wasn't* it," Kussi continues. "I found myself in a very, very unpleasant situation." Changes began to appear in the manuscript after Kundera had signed off on it, and Kussi could not figure out who was responsible. Concerned, he wrote repeatedly to Kundera but received no answer. He fought to restore as much of his translation as he could, but many changes appeared in the final, printed version without his approval or any word from Kundera. Despite this confusion, Kundera's novel and Kussi's translation

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continued from page 43

jointly won a prize from the British newspaper *The Independent* in 1991.

Kussi's frustrations were minor compared to the blow that Kundera was about to deal Heim. In 1990 Asher returned to Harper & Row, which had been rechristened HarperCollins, and began acquiring the paperback rights to all of Kundera's earlier novels. When Asher suggested a paperback rerelease of Heim's earlier translation of *The Joke*, Kundera hesitated. In 1982 Kundera had trusted Heim's work—in fact, he had praised it as "the first valid and authentic version of a book that tells of rape and has itself so often been violated"—but now he was "gripped by suspicion." Sure enough, upon scrutiny Heim's translation struck Kundera as "not my text." Where he disapproved of Heim's rendering, Kundera laboriously patched in turns of phrase from the earlier, reviled British translation, or inserted his own "word-for-word translations either in English or in French." Asher collated Kundera's changes to create a brand-new edition—the fifth in English—released under Aaron Asher's personal imprint at HarperCollins in 1992.

"I offered to send Heim the revised version," Asher says today. "Most of it is still Heim's." Trust, however, had broken down. Heim refused to allow his name on the book. "I had not been consulted about the changes," Heim writes by email, "and therefore could not lend my name to them." The book was published without any translator listed at all.

There was, however, an author's note. It told the story of an author betrayed by his translators over and over again. With a touch of melodrama, Kundera portrayed Heim as having earned Kundera's trust only because he was the most slippery kind of traitor: the kind who means well. "I was all the more unhappy," Kundera wrote, "because I did not believe that it was a matter of incompetence on the translator's part, or of carelessness or ill will: no; in good conscience he produced the kind of translation that one might call *translation-adaptation*. Is this the current, normal practice? It's possible. But unacceptable. Unacceptable to me."

As a personal attack on a translator admitted to be working in good faith, Kundera's note was virtually unprecedented. Heim is probably one of the few translators whose reputation could have

novels] are still worth the trouble of resuscitating." But on the other, he has claimed to have better things to do. Editing is time consuming, Kundera argues, because he has to compare at least three versions of each of his novels: the original Czech manuscript, the book as printed by the Škvoreckýs, and the corrected French edition. Rather than spend his remaining years in tedious, backward-glancing labor, he has chosen to "give radical priority to my fragile present, which for a long time now has not been lived in Bohemia."

Kundera did, however, publish a Czech edition of *The Joke* in 1991, and the first person to take a close look at it has discovered something curious. For his new edition, observes Allison Stanger, Kundera did not combine his earlier texts; rather, he "inexplicably seems to have authorized the publication of the earlier unmodified 1967 Czech text." As a result, in over fifty places, Kundera's new Czech edition doesn't match his authoritative English or French editions. "I stumbled onto this while trying to improve my Czech," says Stanger, an associate professor of political science at Middlebury College, explaining why she read the 1991 Atlantis edition and the 1992 English edition of *The Joke* side by side.

Some of the passages, Stanger guesses, were deleted from the official French text because they would have been too cumbersome to explain to non-Czech readers. Other changes, however, are more intriguing. In his vitriolic 1992 author's note, Kundera alleged that in Heim's hands, "Ludvík, that thoughtful, melancholy intellectual, became vulgar and cynical." Ironically, Stanger has discovered "a coarser, more cynical Ludvík" in passages

JOSEF ŠKVORECKÝ ALLISON STANGER

IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC, KUNDERA-TWITTING IS SOMETHING OF A NATIONAL SPORT. ANY DOWNTURN IN KUNDERA'S POST-CZECH CAREER IS HEADLINE WORTHY.

retained in the 1991 Czech edition but absent from the novel's 1982 and 1992 English editions. Even more provocatively, Stanger has found that in Czech, Kundera more often allows his characters to retain a political complexity—a warm regard for communism's promise, even after disappointment—that he has streamlined out of the English and French versions.

That last discovery no doubt resonates with Kundera's Czech detractors. In the mid-1980s, the dissident Milan Jungmann accused Kundera of having misled Westerners about the extent of his communist past—of having "turned his biography into kitsch for uninitiated foreign readers." "Half of my life I spent as a relatively unknown Czech intellectual," Kundera had told Philip Roth in 1984. Nonsense, Jungmann countered. In fact, Kundera's name was "a household word" in the 1950s and 1960s. "He was the best-known spokesman of a wave undermining the borders between socialist and world culture," Jungmann wrote. Kundera's poetry, articles, speeches, and plays were eagerly anticipated and widely acclaimed. He won the Klement Gottwald State Prize in 1963 and taught for years in the tony Prague film school that launched the Czech New Wave. In *The Joke*, Kundera would mock the propaganda surrounding the Stalinist culture hero Julius Fučík, a

continued on page 47

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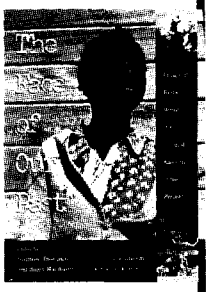

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KUNDERA PRAISED HEIM'S WORK AS "THE FIRST VALID AND AUTHENTIC VERSION OF A BOOK THAT TELLS OF RAPE AND HAS SO OFTEN BEEN VIOLATED."

survived it. His work has been recognized by the American Literary Translators Association; his translations of Danilo Kiš and Bohumil Hrabal have been widely acclaimed; and he is currently at work on a new Günter Grass novel, *My Century*, due out from Harcourt Brace this fall. When Heim is asked today about his quarrel with Kundera, he warns that it is "not my favorite topic." He answers a reporter's questions about dates and facts, but politely declines to elaborate. "I stand by the work I did," he says. Last December, at a San Francisco Slavicists' conference where translations of Kundera were discussed, Heim said only that he was happy to have had the opportunity to translate the best of Kundera's novels.

In private, however, Heim has admitted that he was upset. "Heim said to me, 'I don't really want to talk about it; I was hurt,'" says Banerjee, who for her part has "always liked Heim's translations." The tight-knit world of translators is not happy about how Heim was treated. "I am with Michael Heim on this," says Petro. "An author can say whatever he wants, but he is rarely so strong in the target language as to be the judge himself. One has to have a respect for the translator, after all." Wechsler thinks Kundera has been "sort of a bully." Kussi calls it "questionable or outright wrongheaded" of Kundera to "attack his translators in public.

"He's consistently been raising his translators to the sky, then becoming disillusioned with them," notes Kussi, whose experience parallels Heim's. Over the years, he recalls, "Kundera had treated me very well." Kussi had been the author's guest in Paris and on Belle-Île, off the Brittany coast, and when Kussi wanted to write an essay on the author, Kundera had cooperated. Kundera and Kussi had worked happily together updating Kussi's version of *Life Is Elsewhere*; in the preface of the resulting 1986 edition, Kundera had dubbed Kussi "a true artist among translators." "I benefited on balance," Kussi readily admits. But the late changes to his translation of *Immortality* had upset Kussi, and in the mid-1990s, it nonplussed him to receive a cool, businesslike letter from Kundera, asking if he would be willing to revise *Farewell Waltz*. "It was almost as if he was hoping I would say no," Kussi says. He did not revise his old translation. As it happens, Kundera found a way—a highly unusual way—to manage without him.

IN HIS 1986 book *The Art of the Novel*, Kundera recalls with horror meeting a translator who knew no Czech. When asked how he had translated Kundera's first novel, the man took a picture of Kundera out of his wallet and replied, "With my heart." As Kundera wryly observes, "Of course, it turned out to be much simpler: He had worked from the French rewrite."

But nowadays, Kundera is demanding that his novels be translated from the French rewrite, rather than from the Czech original. How did it come to this?

Part of the answer lies in Kundera's growing pride in his identity as a French citizen. The communists stripped Kundera of his Czech citizenship in 1979, and he was "moved and filled with gratitude" by France's gift of citizenship two years later. In 1984, his French improved by nearly a decade of living in France, Kundera began "the detailed revision of all my French translations." In the end, the revisions would cost Kundera more than two years and "as much energy as the writing of two new books." But at long last, in 1987, Kundera triumphantly instructed Gallimard to print at the back of each revised French volume a notice declaring that the new translations had "the same authenticity value as the Czech text" ("*la même valeur d'authenticité que le texte tchèque*"). In the mid-1980s, furthermore, Kundera began writing his nonfiction in French rather than Czech. Not Kundera's books but Kundera himself seemed to be undergoing translation. And why not? At the time, the Iron Curtain looked permanent.

In the early 1990s, HarperCollins pro-

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posed paperback reissues of four of Kundera's Czech-written books. Suspicious of the old English translations, proud of his French editions, and estranged from both of his longtime Czech-to-English translators, the author considered an unorthodox alternative: Instead of correcting the old translations, why not commission brand-new translations from the French? "He asked me to take a look," says Asher, "and asked some other people to take a look. The upshot was that yes, according to his principles, if not everybody else's, these books would be closer to what he had originally written if they were retranslated." Asher's wife, Linda, had been elegantly and accurately translating Kundera's French nonfiction since 1984, but she was busy with Kundera's essay collection *Testaments Betrayed*. According to Asher, an impatient Kundera asked him, "Why don't you do it? Your French is good enough. You know exactly what I need." Asher, who had recently left HarperCollins to go freelance, accepted.

Today, the Ashers together hold the Kundera franchise. In addition to revising *The Joke*, Aaron has retranslated from the French *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (1996), *Farewell Waltz* (1998), and *Life Is Elsewhere* (due out in 2000). A revised, but not retranslated, *Laughable Loves* will appear this fall. In addition to Kundera's essay collections *The Art of the Novel* and *Testaments Betrayed*, Linda has translated Kundera's new novels, *Slowness* (1996) and *Identity* (1998), both of which Kundera composed in French.

AS EVERY translator knows, it is easy to pick apart a translation. It is easy to find an awkward passage that never finished its journey through translatorese and into English, or a knotty passage that was furtively omitted, or a plain old-fashioned mistake. With that caveat in mind, one might still consider the question looming over this debate: Are the new translations of Kundera better?

The answer depends, in part, on what you are looking for. Asher stresses that a difference in philosophy is at the heart of Kundera's break with his American translators. "Heim and Kussi are very good translators," he says, but "they've allowed themselves some latitude. They didn't do bad translations; their intentions weren't wicked. But a translator is comparable to a performer, a pianist, not the composer. If

KUNDERA AT A CZECHOSLOVAK W… MEETING IN PRAG…

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communist journalist executed by Nazis. But as Derek Sayer notes in his indispensable history *The Coasts of Bohemia* (Princeton, 1998), in 1955 Kundera was still so much a part of that culture that one of his own poems portrayed Fučík as a sort of Marxist Christ.

In Kundera's defense, the literary critic Jan Trefulka pointed out last summer in *Lidové noviny* that "The political loosening of the 1960s did not happen of its own accord." A longtime friend of Václav Havel's, Trefulka, too, was a communist before the Russian invasion turned him into an impeccably credentialed dissident. The Prague Spring owed much to intellectuals of Kundera and Trefulka's ilk, who laid the groundwork for liberalization inside the Party.

These fierce disputes about Kundera's artistic and political past have been little reported in the West, and here, too, one senses the power of translation's almost invisible hand. The Russian invasion forcibly changed Kundera from a Czech writer into an international writer, whose books were read mainly in foreign languages. Thanks to circumstance and copyright law, Kundera was given an opportunity that most mature artists can only dream about: He was able to decide which of his works he wanted the world to judge him by. Defensibly enough, he has quarantined his early, socialism-tinged work. Hard as it is for Czechs to read Kundera's late, capitalist novels, it is much harder for Westerners to read his early, communist poetry and essays. The Czechs, as a result, know a Kundera even more muddied, human, and self-contradictory than the rest of the world knows.

Younger Czech critics, uncompromised by the bad old days, have taken up Jungmann's indictment of Kundera's "strange creative schizophrenia." But older Slavs and older Slavicists tend to shrug it off. Says the critic Peter Petro, "I salute people brave enough to change their mind."

So does Kundera, apparently. In the original *Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, Kundera harshly criticized an actual Czech singer named Karel Gott, who collaborated heavily with the Communist regime after the Russian crackdown. But in the new French and English editions, "the Idiot of Music," as Kundera once called him, is off the hook. As Deborah Garfinkle, a graduate student at the University of Texas at Austin, noted in an article earlier this year, Karel Gott has been renamed Karel Klos—a creature of pure fiction.—**C.C.**

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a translator thinks he's a composer, he should get out of the concert hall.

"There are some passages in these translations that sound foreign," Asher admits of his own work. "I like the foreignness." Under a theory of translation like Kundera's, even stilted prose may be an asset.

Michelle Woods, a graduate student at Trinity College, Dublin, has studied the different editions of *The Joke*. In her opinion, the style of the 1992 Asher-Kundera edition conforms, for good or ill, to Kundera's rigorous translation philosophy; to Woods, the new *Joke* sounds "less familiar, less idiomatic" than Heim's 1982 version. My own impression is that with a few exceptions, the difference between the two is not dramatic. Paradoxically, the 1992 *Joke* may be an improvement because its improvements are so modest: It is largely Heim's text, with intermittent fixes.

Aaron Asher's translations of Kundera from the French, however, are something else entirely. As Benjamin wrote, "Translations...prove to be untranslatable not because of any inherent difficulty, but because of the looseness with which meaning attaches to them." Kundera has admired Leoš Janáček's attempt to capture the nuances of speech with musical notation, and he has appreciated Hemingway's delicate ear for the rhythms of dialogue. Since Kundera knows that such subtle achievements are fragile, it is hard to understand why he imagines that his own style can survive a double translation. Like the children's game of Telephone, the process amplifies garbling.

Asher's fidelity to the punctuation and arrangement of clauses in the original Czech is uncanny, given that he does not know that language; and at times, it is ingenious, attesting to Kundera's close involvement and Asher's hard labor. Furthermore, to Asher's credit, there are a number of spots in the new *Book of Laughter and Forgetting* where he has corrected Heim's literary "improvements." For example, Asher succeeds in restoring an unusual simile ("all the years of her marriage landed on her like a heavy sack") that Heim had flattened into a cliché ("like a ton of bricks"). Kussi is a more cautious translator than Heim. Asher, however, does restore a maple that had turned into an alder in Kussi's *Farewell Waltz*.

But my own sense is that the flaws in the French-to-English retranslations far outweigh their merits. Take Asher and Kundera's disregard for "flow." It may be principled, but at times it's a serious impediment to the reader. "Why don't I go (and never will go) and inform on him?" Olga wonders to her own and the reader's bafflement in Asher's *Farewell Waltz*. Or, earlier in that book: "Olga thought him ridiculously theatrical, and she was delighted to see him go and that, finally, she would soon be alone with Jakub." These sentences may be faithful to Kundera's syntax, but they are hostile to the reader.

Furthermore, as an inexperienced translator, Aaron Asher makes outright mistakes. Asher needlessly creates verb-tense chaos by translating "*Voici deux mois qu'ils avaient fait connaissance*" as "It is two months since they met." Kussi's "They had met two months earlier" does the trick just fine. In the *Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, when a communist dictator writes a letter to the musician Karel Gott (renamed Karel Klos

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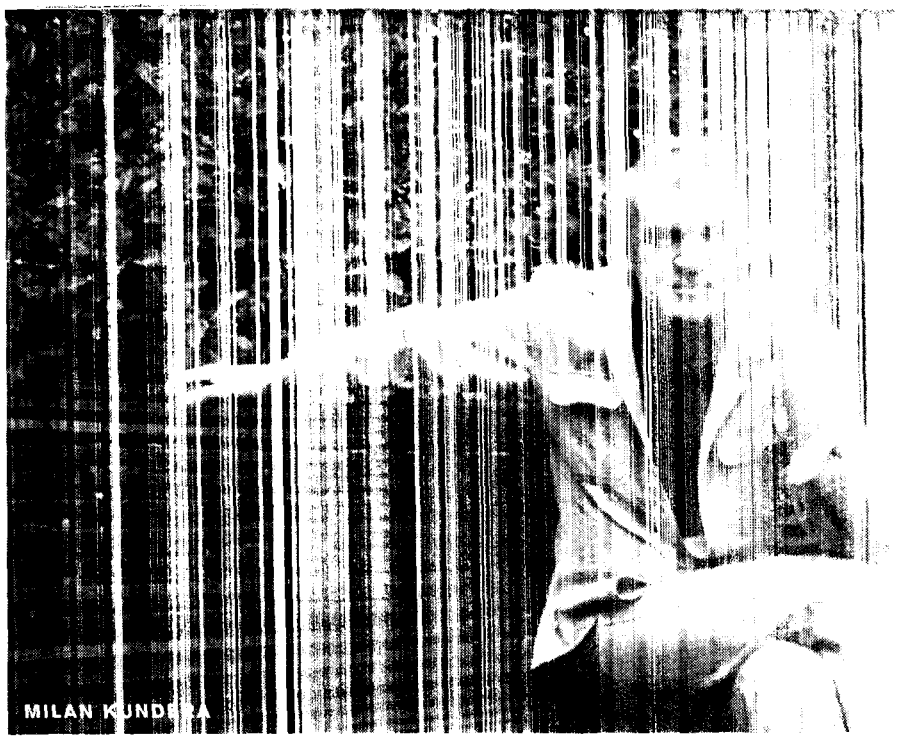
in the new edition), Asher mistranslates the dictator's reassuring "*nous ne vous en voulons pas*" as "we want nothing from you." In fact, the sentence contains a common French idiom meaning "we are not angry with you."

With misplaced loyalty, Asher has also reproduced awkward turns of phrase that were only translator's expedients in French and never appeared in the original Czech. For example, in Asher's *Farewell Waltz*, Růžena complains of her lover Klíma that after their one-night stand "he had shown no sign of life." That's a doggedly faithful rendering of the French "*il n'avait pas donné signe de vie*"; in English, the expression usually describes the comatose rather than the merely inattentive. The Czech text does not justify the blunder: "*se neohlasil ani slůvkem*" (literally, "he did not announce himself by even a small word"). Similarly, in Asher's *Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, Edwige tells her lover "I'm making pee," because in French that's what one does—*on fait pipi*. In English and in Czech, however, urination takes place as a verb, and Heim's "I'm in here peeing" is much closer to the efficient Czech "*čurám*."



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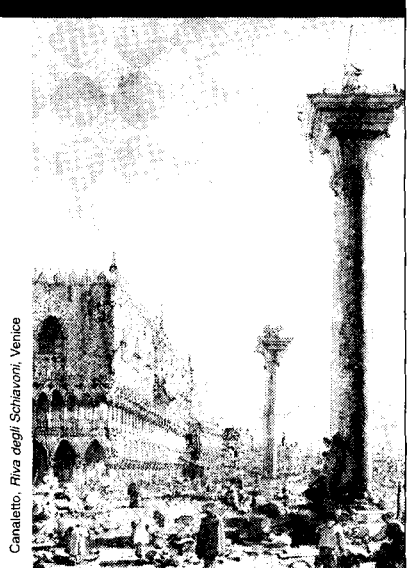
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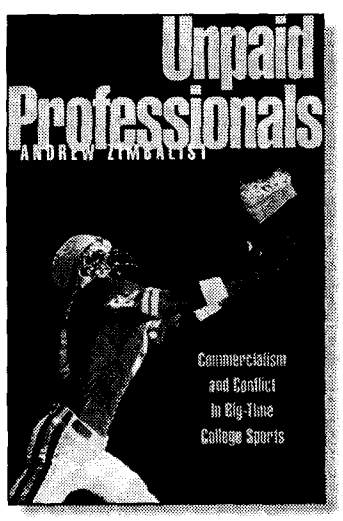

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In other spots, Asher has introduced non sequiturs, because he has separately translated two sentences with word-for-word fidelity, but failed to take into account that within their new English context, the sentences must accommodate each other. "I wonder...which of your distant ancestors had a big nose," a father muses to his wife in Asher's *Farewell Waltz*, while staring at their toddler son, and then adds, "Isn't that right?" In Kussi's version, the father asks, "Who knows? Maybe one of your distant ancestors sported a long schnozzle," and continues, more logically, "Isn't that possible?"

At the end of the day, I also miss Heim's and Kussi's greater command of literary style. "Everyone gave way to disheartenment" is no more accurate than Kussi's "Everyone suddenly felt very let down," but it is much less felicitous. Heim's *Book of Laughter and Forgetting* compares the lonely, isolated Tamina to a walled-in "patch of grass," which is poignant. But Asher describes her as "a bit of lawn," which sounds like something that needs to be mowed. A man described in Kussi's English as a "courier of disaster" becomes in Asher's a "mailman of misfortune."

In *Testaments Betrayed*, Kundera discussed Stravinsky's attempt late in life to make authorized recordings of himself playing and conducting his own music. The attempt is somewhat analogous to Kundera's intervention in his own translations, and in Kundera's case, as in Stravinsky's, "this wish to take on the role of performer himself often provoked an irritated response." A few irritated translators may be a small price to pay for artistic integrity. And in fact the translators in question have already dusted themselves off and moved on. But Kundera's tight control is not serving his work. Like a jealous husband trying to enforce his wife's love, Kundera faces an unpleasant realization: Commanding obedience may not bring his texts any closer to him.

Caleb Crain is a contributing writer for *LF*. His translations from the Czech have appeared in *Daylight in Nightclub Inferno: Czech Fiction from the Post-Kundera Generation* (Catbird, 1997) and *The Tenor Saxophonist's Story* by Josef Škvorecký (Ecco, 1996). Next fall, Yale University Press will publish *American Sympathy*, his study of men's friendships in early American literature.

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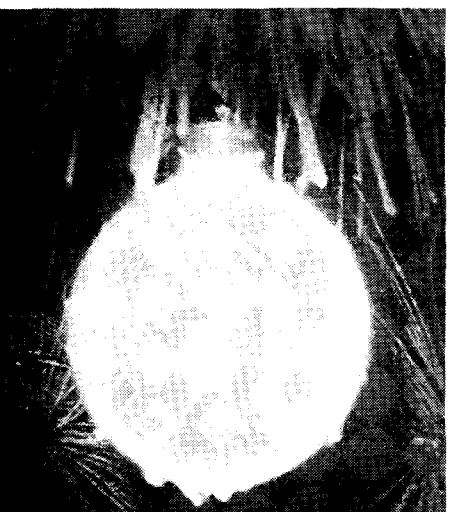

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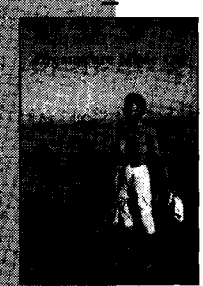

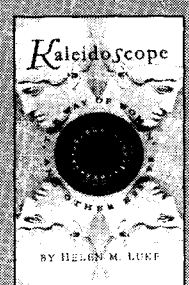

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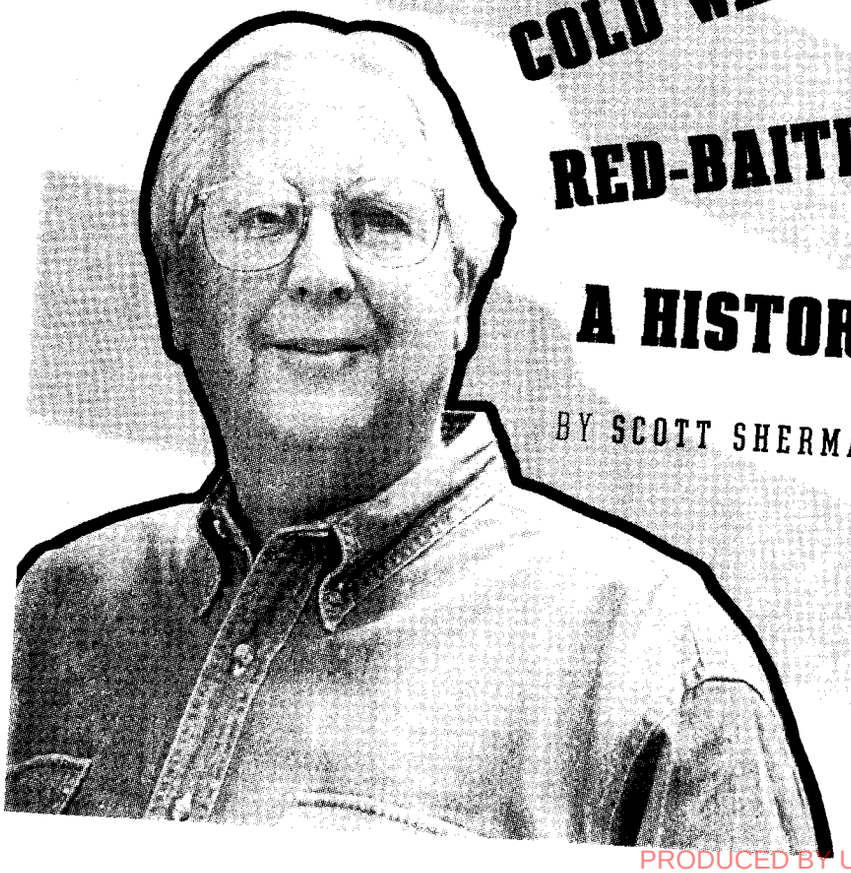
THE RADOSH FILE

COLD WAR LIBERAL OR RED-BAITING REACTIONARY?

A HISTORIAN ON TRIAL

BY SCOTT SHERMAN



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IN THE FALL OF 1976, *NEW YORK TIMES* critic Hilton Kramer wrote a scathing denunciation of two new works about the 1950s-era Hollywood left: Lillian Hellman's memoir *Scoundrel Time* and Woody Allen's film *The Front*, both of which, he said, upheld an image of "perfect Communist innocence." In letters to the *Times*, eminent historians and critics were effusive in their praise for Kramer's article. But one letter writer, a pugnacious young historian named Ronald Radosh, was harshly critical of Kramer's views. Radosh rushed to Hellman's defense. "In her estimate that the Cold War liberalism of the 1950s led straight to Vietnam and Watergate," he wrote, Hellman "proves to be a better historian than Mr. Kramer."

Fast forward two decades. In late 1997, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the blacklist, *The New Criterion*, edited by Hilton Kramer, published a withering appraisal of the 1950s-era Hollywood left—written by none other than Ronald Radosh. "The Communists were persistently dishonest," Radosh declared, "and hardly the heroes portrayed today in films such as *The Front*." In the same article, he pilloried *Scoundrel Time* as a "mendacious memoir" and concluded: "Is it not time to look back and gain some judgment about who the real scoundrels were, and to hold them accountable?"

Radosh's ongoing search for "scoundrels," especially of the communist variety, has put him at the center of a widening debate about early Cold War history. While the dispute is far from resolved, its momentum, thus far, seems propelled by one side: Last November, Christopher Hitchens, writing in the *Times Literary Supplement*, acknowledged that recent literature on American communism and Soviet espionage is "creating a new consensus among historians that many 'Cold War' accusations made by the Right were at least factually true." Radosh has done much to advance that consensus. Whether he is tackling the question of "Was Joe McCarthy Right?" in an NPR debate with Yeshiva historian Ellen Schrecker, or assailing CNN's twenty-four-part *Cold War* series in *The New York Times*, or convicting Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on the *Today* show," Radosh, with indefatigable zeal and polemical dexterity, hammers away at his thesis about "the real nature" of American communism and "how many of its cadre served the espionage apparatus of the Soviet Union." Radosh is no stranger to the world of spycraft. After weathering years of criticism, his 1983 book, *The Rosenberg File*, is now considered the definitive work on the subject.

But Radosh's prosecutorial tone and belligerent demeanor have raised a few hackles. Last October, a *New York Times* editorial declared that "a number of American scholars would like to rewrite the historical verdict on Senator McCarthy and McCarthyism," but, the newspaper assured its readers, such efforts were "ideology masquerading as history." No scholars were identified in the editorial, but a few weeks later in a *Times* Op-Ed essay, Joseph McCarthy's biographer, Rutgers University historian David Oshinsky, fingered two "neoconservative" academics: Emory University political scientist Harvey Klehr and Ronald Radosh.

If Radosh, who believes that McCarthy's antics defiled the worthy cause of anti-communism, has drawn liberal fire, neither has he been exempt from conservative vitriol. When *Slate* asked him to assess William F. Buckley's *The Redhunter*, a new novel based on the life of the Wisconsin senator, Radosh penned a quietly devastating appraisal, accusing Buckley of seeking the "resurrection of old Joe" and reminding him that "the very term McCarthyism is now a synonym for everything ugly in American life." Perhaps Buckley expected better treatment from a historian who has written for *National Review*. "There is no point in Radosh, burdened by his mind-set, reading [the book]," he wrote, "because it would necessarily be uphill for him, as hard going as an impotent locked in all night with a whore."

Who is this scholar who inspires such invective on both sides of the ideological divide? Is he, as his detractors insist, a turncoat and a Red-baiter? Or, with his fearless iconoclasm and his antipathy to "old Joe," is he a throwback to the liberal anticommunist tradition of Walter Reuther, Reinhold Niebuhr and Sidney Hook? One thing is certain: Radosh, a onetime Marxist-Leninist, is on a crusade to destroy the sacred cows of the Old Left. Though he acknowledges that "most of the mythology of the left has broken apart," he believes that "the last great myth of the left" still remains to be examined: the Spanish civil war.

In what may be his most controversial project to date, Radosh is finishing a book, based on newly excavated Soviet documents, that sheds a jaundiced light on Spain of the 1930s. It is an undertaking unlikely to win Radosh many friends. British historian Eric Hobsbawm speaks not only for himself but for a generation of leftist activists and luminaries when he calls the Spanish conflict "the only political cause which, even in retrospect, appears as pure and compelling as it did in 1936." That cause was the democratically elected Spanish Republic, a beleaguered coalition of liberals, anarchists, communists, and socialists that held out for nearly three years against the superior manpower and weaponry of Francisco Franco, whose uprising was supported by Mussolini and Hitler. But Radosh likes to quote another British historian, Paul Johnson, who believes that "no episode of the 1930s has been more lied about than this one, and only in recent years have historians begun to dig it out from the mountain of mendacity beneath which it was buried for a generation." Radosh, a relative newcomer to Spanish history, is digging away furiously.

ON AUGUST 23, 1918, in the heart of New York's Lower East Side, a small group of Yiddish-speaking anarchists dropped some leaflets off a tenement rooftop. They were arrested by the New York bomb squad and, following a trial, deported to the Soviet Union. But Leninist Russia was hardly a safe haven for its own anarchists, let alone for the deportees. One of them, Jacob Abrams, fled to the comparative tranquility of Mexico, where he plied his trade as a Yiddish publisher, played chess with Leon Trotsky, kibitzed with exiled revolutionaries, and, in 1951, took his beloved twelve-year-old cousin from Manhattan, Ronald, to meet his friend Diego Rivera. Two years later, stricken with throat cancer, Abrams returned to the United States for medical treatment, and Radosh has never forgotten the FBI's shabby treatment of his dying relative. "The U.S. government," he once wrote, "uncomfortable with the thought of the dangerous anarchist, perhaps anxious that he would use the occasion to drop another leaflet from another rooftop, had detailed two armed agents to watch the steps of a man who could barely move."

A self-proclaimed red-diaper baby, Radosh was raised in a lost world, the one chronicled by Irving Howe in *World of*

PREVIOUS PAGE: COURTESY RONALD RADOSH

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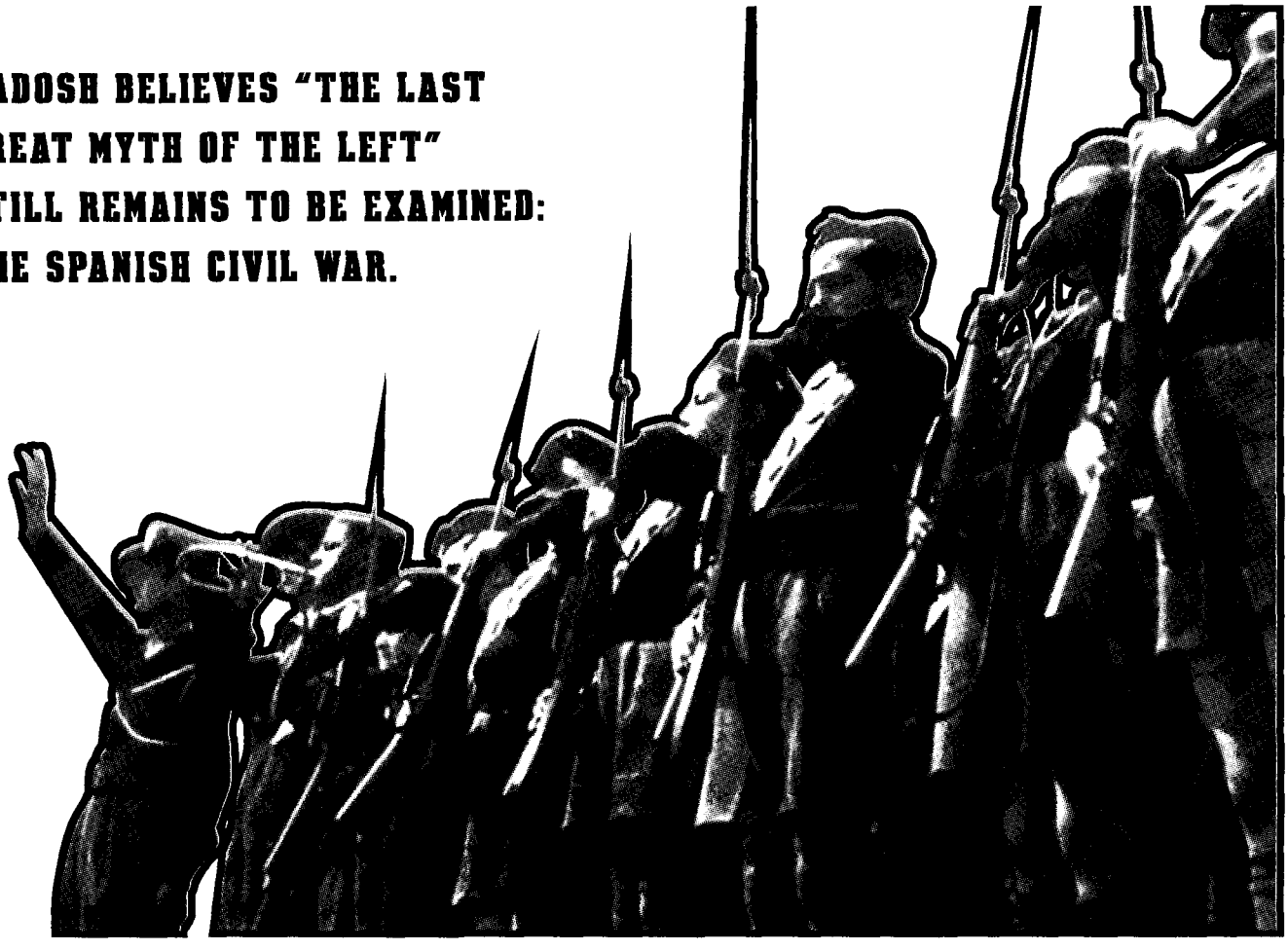
RADOSH BELIEVES "THE LAST GREAT MYTH OF THE LEFT" STILL REMAINS TO BE EXAMINED: THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR.



Our Fathers: a realm of Yiddish theaters, red summer camps, May Day parades, and utopian politics. His mother, Ida, was an independent-minded anarchist active in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; his father was a left-wing hatmaker who, in the 1920s, ran for union office on the Communist ticket. In the late 1940s, those youthful exploits clashed with the political imperatives of the blacklist; faced with diminishing employment prospects, Reuben Radosh went into business for himself and managed to obtain a lucrative contract to manufacture hats for Dwight Eisenhower's 1952 presidential campaign.

In 1955, Radosh arrived at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. He was drawn there by its reputable history department, but also by the fact that Wisconsin was "the only college in the country that allowed an organized Communist youth group on campus." During the first week of his freshman year, in a seminar taught by historian George Mosse, the fiery young activist denounced Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* as "an anticommunist diatribe; a phony tract." (He also extolled the Soviet Union and "the great advances of world communism.")

Weary of peddling *The Daily Worker* to Madison's factory workers, Radosh eventually abandoned the drab young communists for a new cohort: the history graduate students clustered around *Studies on the Left*, a journal whose impact on the founding members of Students for a Democratic Society was profound. *Studies* in general, and Radosh in particular, were deeply influenced by Wisconsin professor William Appleman Williams, the maverick diplomatic historian whose intellectual fingerprints appear on Radosh's doctoral thesis as well as on his first book, *American Labor and United States Foreign Policy* (Random House, 1969). That book, which indicted the U.S. labor movement for its steadfast anticommunism, gained an enthusiastic review from John Leonard in *The New York Times* and cemented Radosh's reputation as one of the New Left's most formidable young voices.

By 1970, Radosh was living in New York, raising a family, teaching U.S. history at Queensboro Community College, and working with the New University Conference, a version of SDS for young faculty. The bloodshed at Kent State, and the nationwide student revolt that followed it, took Radosh and his associates by surprise. "We saw this," he recalls, "as proof of Rosa Luxemburg's theory of spontaneous revolutionary movement by the working class, and our vanguard rushed to catch up with our masses." At a rally to protest the Ohio killings, Radosh unleashed what he later described as the "most demagogic speech of my career":

> Quoting lyrics from a recently released Jefferson Airplane album, I said the enemy was the System. By closing down the school, we would strike a blow against the System. In perfect *Waiting for Lefty* style, I

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raised my hand in a clenched fist and yelled 'strike, strike, strike, strike!' The students responded in unison. Some approached the stage, held me on their shoulders, and marched out of the building.

But Radosh's political views were soon to take a sharp turn. In the summer of 1973, he travelled to Cuba. Prior to his departure, he was in full agreement with the famous declaration by New Left guru C. Wright Mills: "I am for the Cuban revolution. I do not worry about it. I worry for it and with it." At first, dining on lobster with Regis Debray and Che Guevara's relatives at the Havana Hilton, Radosh found Castro's island perfectly palatable. But as his stay wore on, he became appalled by the overcrowded buses, the Dickensian factories, the posters of Rumanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, the incarcerated homosexuals, and the way *Granma*, the official newspaper, routinely spelled Richard Nixon's name with a swastika instead of an *x*. One afternoon, wandering through the old section of Havana, Radosh and his friends photographed some Cubans waiting in line for food, and were immediately arrested and held in police custody for several hours. Upon his return, he wrote a gloomy essay for David Dellinger's magazine *Liberation*, inspiring a flood of angry letters.

By the early 1980s, following several trips to Central America, Radosh thought he saw the Cuban Revolution being replicated in Nicaragua, and detected in Sandinista rule "the same betrayed hopes, the same shattered dreams." His ultimate break with the left occurred when he read an exchange between the radical British historian E.P. Thompson and the Polish dissident Leszek Kolakowski in *Socialist Register*; he experienced a shock of recognition at Kolakowski's conclusion that communism was "a skull that will never smile again." By 1987, Radosh was a natural speaker for David Horowitz's "Second Thoughts" conference in Washington—a gathering, wrote Horowitz, for people who "were fed up with the anti-American passions and totalitarian romances of the left and ready to say goodbye to all that."

GARY COOPER AND INGRID BERGMAN IN *FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS*

DESPITE his other changes of heart, Radosh remained convinced, well into the 1970s, that Ethel and Julius Rosenberg had been wrongly convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage. In a sense, Radosh had grown up with the Rosenbergs, and their execution carried with it symbolic import. It was, for him, an old-fashioned witch-hunt, "another lesson in the failure of American capitalist justice." He served on the National Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case and attended numerous fund-raisers for the cause, all of which put him in close political proximity to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg's sons, Robert and Michael Meeropol.

In 1976, the Meeropols sued the government in an attempt to obtain all the relevant FBI files. Anticipating that the material released under the Freedom of Information Act would exonerate the doomed couple, Radosh decided to write a book based on the new primary source materials. In 1983, after poring over 200,000 pages and interviewing major figures in the case, Radosh, along with his co-author, Joyce Milton, published *The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth*. The book documented that Julius Rosenberg was at the hub of a Soviet espionage ring during World War II, but it also showed that the case against Ethel was flimsy—that the government, in effect, had used her as a "lever" to force her husband to capitulate. Furthermore, Radosh and Milton argued that contrary to the government's charges, the Rosenberg spy ring "was never the primary conduit of U.S. atomic secrets to the Soviets"; that Judge Irving Kaufman was guilty of judicial transgressions; and that "the government's zeal [in prosecuting them] led to questionable tactics and eventually to a grave miscarriage of justice." (The revised edition of *The Rosenberg File*, published by Yale in 1997, offers a different view of the legal proceedings: "Although we continue to feel that use of the death penalty was...improper, and unfair...overall, our justice system functioned with integrity under trying circumstances.")

The reaction to *The Rosenberg File* was so divided and intense that in October of 1983, *The Nation* and *The New Republic* co-sponsored a debate titled "Were the Rosenbergs Framed?" Three thousand people, including Woody Allen, Irving Howe, and William Kunstler, packed New York's Town Hall for what *The New Republic*'s correspondent, Harvard professor Robert Nozick, called "this final event of the 1950s." On stage, Radosh and Milton faced off against the Rosenbergs' most vociferous defenders: Walter and Miriam Schneir, whose 1966 book *Invitation to an Inquest* maintained that the case against the couple was a hoax and that they were executed for a crime that never occurred. Nozick took note of Walter Schneir's "barely suppressed rage" and "absolute self-righteousness," while he found Radosh and Milton "a bit too cheerful for this occasion, recalling their smiling dust jacket photo, which hardly depicts people who have reluctantly reached an unwelcome conclusion." In a wry dispatch for *The Village Voice*, J. Hoberman detected something "weirdly familiar" about Radosh: "With his thick glasses, smudgy mustache and know-it-all attitude—good grief, he looks like Julius Rosenberg!"

Twelve years after the Town Hall debate, Radosh claimed a decisive victory. In a 1995 *New Republic* article, he wrote: "'We may wake up one morning,' I.F. Stone wrote in 1956, 'to learn that the Rosenbergs were guilty.' July 12, 1995 was that morning." Radosh was specifically referring to the newly released Venona papers—decoded messages exchanged between the United States and Moscow in the 1940s—which, he reported with pride, corroborated the basic argument of *The Rosenberg File*. A few weeks later,

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writing in *The Nation*, Walter and Miriam Schneir admitted that the new documents "contain so much amazing, sad, disturbing material, one hardly knows where to begin." Accepting Venona's authenticity, they conceded that "during World War II Julius ran a spy ring composed of young fellow Communists," and concluded: "We know that our account will be painful news for many people, as it is for us. But the duty of a writer is to tell the truth."

THE Rosenberg debate languished in the late 1980s and early 1990s, as did Radosh's career. Hired by Queensboro Community College in 1963, the young professor was initially enamored of the two-year institution. "When I started teaching there, the students were great," says Radosh. "Then open admissions comes in, and standards go down and down and down. This was not because of blacks. Queensboro's open admissions mainly brought in working-class Italians. The standards started slipping." The new demographic, combined with bigger classes and exorbitant teaching loads, made Radosh's life "unbearable," he says, his voice rising in anger. "They were so stupid. In one class I was talking about the Cuban missile crisis, and somebody raises his hand and says, 'What's Cuba?' You were dealing with complete illiterates."

Radosh's fortunes changed in 1992, when, at a Christmas party in Manhattan, he met Peter Diamandopolous, then president of Adelphi University. It was a propitious encounter, for Diamandopolous was recruiting scholars for visiting professorships underwritten by the conservative John M. Olin Foundation, and Radosh, having just accepted an early retirement package from Queensboro, was looking for a new academic post. So he went to Garden City, Long Island, where for two years he taught history and politics to Adelphi's honor students. Radosh wistfully recalls his "sumptuous office, state-of-the-art computer, and beautiful oak desk," but Diamandopolous's penchant for expensive cognac and luxury apartments, and his willingness to defy the faculty union by hiring outsiders like Radosh, plunged Adelphi into crisis, and it wasn't long before Olin withdrew its funding.

With his job in limbo, Radosh approached the Olin Foundation directly. "I said, look, Adelphi's collapsed, Diamandopolous is out, but my work is good. If you funded me there, why don't you fund me somewhere else? So they said, 'Fine.'" Boston University was interested in him, but Radosh wanted to live in the Washington area, where he had recently purchased a house. George Washington University was a logical choice, and Radosh gave a presentation to the history department, at which he felt "great animosity." The department eventually voted seventeen to three against him, with some members of the faculty apparently resentful of what they viewed as Olin's attempt to foist an outsider on them. Radosh dismisses that argument as a "ruse." "If the Ford Foundation put up money to bring in Angela Davis as a professor of black studies, they would jump to get her," he says. "There wouldn't be one squeak of opposition." Rather, he bluntly affirms, "These people hate me because of *The Rosenberg File*."

Radosh was not alone in feeling that GW had turned him away for political reasons. Amitai Etzioni, who directs GW's Institute for Communitarian Policy Studies, told Radosh over lunch at the faculty club: "I know a witch-hunt when I see one." Etzioni agreed to give Radosh an institutional base from which he could channel his grant monies, which together total about $100,000 annually. Three years later, Etzioni has no regrets about the arrangement: "As a refugee from Nazi Germany," he says, "the notion that somebody with whom you disagree will not be allowed to do their research—that offended me."

Today, comfortably ensconced in Etzioni's Institute, Radosh lives quietly in Brookeville, Maryland, in a spacious home whose down payment came from a Diego Rivera painting Jacob Abrams bequeathed to Radosh's mother, and which the son auctioned at Sotheby's for $45,000. Driven and cantankerous, Radosh spends his days in a cluttered basement office, commiserating with his allies by telephone, writing his memoirs, listening to Bob Dylan and Randy Newman, doting on his Maltese,

JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG

ARCHIVE PHOTOS (2)

RADOSH AND MILTON'S BOOK DOCUMENTED THAT JULIUS ROSENBERG WAS AT THE HUB OF A SOVIET ESPIONAGE RING DURING WORLD WAR II, BUT IT ALSO SHOWED THAT THE CASE AGAINST ETHEL WAS FLIMSY.

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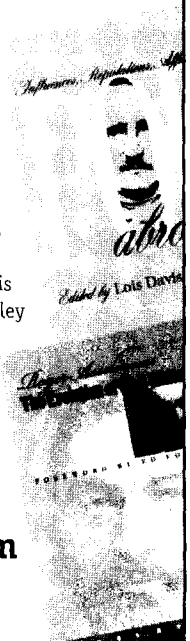
American Originals

Poe Abroad

Influence, Reputation, Affinities
EDITED BY LOIS DAVIS VINES



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Where great writing begins

Sam, and churning out an endless stream of books, articles, and polemics.

In addition to numerous reviews and essays, he published two books in 1996: *The Amerasia Spy Case: Prelude to McCarthyism* (North Carolina), co-authored with Harvey Klehr, reconstructed a 1945 espionage case that created a political firestorm in Washington and prompted fears that American wartime security apparatus had been penetrated by Communist spies. *Divided They Fell: The Demise of the Democratic Party 1964–1996* (Free Press) charted how "women, blacks, Hispanics, young people, and gays" came to dominate—and weaken—the Democratic Party in the crucial years between the Atlantic City convention in 1964 and George McGovern's defeat in 1972.

"It's a great gig," Radosh says with a smile. "I don't have to teach." These days, his work is focused on Spain and the conflagration that engulfed it six decades ago.

FOR LIBERALS and radicals in the West, and particularly in Britain, the Spanish civil war was one of the century's most emotionally charged ideological crusades. Luminaries and activists, including Albert Einstein, Eleanor Roosevelt, Paul Robeson, George Orwell, Ernest Hemingway, and André Malraux, found Spain a matter of intense concern, a case study of fascist imperialism on the march. In 1937, W.H. Auden, Stephen Spender, and Pablo Neruda circulated a petition proclaiming that "the equivocal attitude, the Ivory Tower, the paradoxical, the ironic detachment, will no longer do," and posed a blunt question to fellow writers: "Are you for, or against, the legal Government and the People of Republican Spain?"

From Ford Madox Ford ("I am unhesitatingly for the existing Spanish government") to Samuel Beckett ("¡UP THE REPUBLIC!") the answer was overwhelmingly "for." There were a few dissenters—"You are all had," fumed Ezra Pound. "Spain is an emotional luxury to a gang of sap-headed dilettantes." But the dominant mood of the intelligentsia was captured by the playwright Sean O'Casey in 1937: "I am with the determined faces firing at the steel-clad slug of Fascism from the smoke and flame of the barricades."

Today, the Spanish civil war is still with us: It reappears in films like Ken Loach's *Land and Freedom*, in novels like David Leavitt's *While England Sleeps*, in songs by the Clash, in a steady stream of university press monographs and campus art exhibitions, and in polemical outbursts in *The New York Review of Books* and *The Nation*.

In 1986, Radosh himself penned one of those outbursts: a full-page article in *The Washington Post* titled "My Uncle Died in Vain Fighting the Good Fight." Radosh recounted the story of his relative Irving Keith, who joined the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a corps of American volunteer soldiers, and was killed in Spain in 1938. Radosh recalled growing up with the heroic myth of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade as a group of brave young men who were the "flower of the American left." But lately, he wrote, he had become persuaded that "the story of the Lincoln vets, rather than being a tale of heroism and virtue, is a story of how good people were manipulated by the Soviet Union for its own ends."

Hilton Kramer, who admired the *Washington Post* essay, invited Radosh to review several new books about Spain for *The New Criterion*. Arguing that "for most Left intellectuals, Spain in the Thirties is a cause to be reaffirmed rather than investigated," the article did not depict a Manichean contest between fascism and democracy, but rather a morally ambiguous war in which "both sides were responsible for unspeakable and equally repugnant atrocities." Of course, the Spanish Republic's Stalinist taint had been noted before, by George Orwell, Arthur Koestler, John Dos Passos, and Noam Chomsky, among others. But Radosh insisted that the Republic had not been fully recognized as a communist slaughterhouse and a laboratory for Stalin's cynical realpolitik.

The essay provoked an avalanche of criticism. Alfred Kazin expressed his displeasure over the telephone; the eminent Bernard Knox, himself a civil war veteran, took Radosh to task in *The New York Review of Books*; and in the pages of *Dissent*, Irving Howe charged into battle. What particularly rankled Howe was the moral symmetry Radosh asserted—his portrait of "two camps more or less equally repressive and equally guilty of atrocities." But Howe took the opportunity to remind Radosh that "the whole of progressive Spain—the democrats, the unions, the left, most intellectuals—had rallied to the Republic" in an ill-fated attempt to check Franco, Hitler, and Mussolini. In response

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W.H. AUDEN

AUDEN AND FELLOW PETITIONERS ASKED, "ARE YOU FOR, OR AGAINST, THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF REPUBLICAN SPAIN?"

to Radosh's suggestion that Orwell later repudiated the side for which he had fought, Howe, with evident pleasure, cited a passage from Orwell's 1943 essay "Looking Back on the Spanish War":

> When one thinks of the cruelty, squalor, and futility of war... there is always the temptation to say: "One side is as bad as the other. I am neutral." In practice, however, one cannot be neutral.... The hatred which the Spanish Republic excited in millionaires, dukes, cardinals, play-boys, Blimps and what not would in itself be enough to show how the land lay. In essence it was a class war. If it had been won, the cause of the common people everywhere would have been strengthened.

AS IN THE CASE of the Rosenbergs, new archival discoveries may help to resolve long-standing battles. In 1992, while exploring the Russian military archives in Moscow, Mary Habeck, a young military historian at Yale, stumbled across a huge trove of documents pertaining to the Spanish war. She approached Jonathan Brent, the director of Yale University Press's multivolume Annals of Communism series, who signed her up for the series and urged her to collaborate with Radosh. Yale will publish their book, *Spain Betrayed: The Soviet Union and the Spanish Civil War*, in the fall of 2000. This May, at the annual convention of Eugene Genovese's Historical Society, Radosh and Habeck unveiled some of their findings at a sparsely attended session.

The paper combined a handful of new revelations with a slew of vague but provocative morsels concerning a much debated question: the nature of Soviet intervention in Spain. All these years later, the nuances of Russian policy are murky; in *The Spanish Civil War*, the historian Hugh Thomas refers to Stalin's "crablike caution" and the "one decision he reached about Spain: He would not permit the Republic to lose, even though he would not necessarily help it to win." Was Stalin's aid to the Spanish Republic a sincere effort to defeat Franco or a self-serving machination? And, by extension, was the Spanish government a bastion of heroic resistance to fascism or a helpless pawn in Stalin's game?

One disclosure offered by Habeck and Radosh throws new light on this matter. Until now, historians have generally believed that the leaders of the Republic only begged for Russian military assistance after they were rebuffed by England, France, and the United States. Radosh and Habeck, however, claim to have a letter, dated July 25, 1936, written by José Giral, the Republic's Prime Minister, to the Soviet Ambassador in France, urgently appealing for armaments. Says Habeck: "Just one week after the civil war began, Giral was already asking for weapons from the Soviet Union, long before he knew that France, Britain, and the U.S. were all going to refuse him weapons, which totally contradicts the view that the Republic was forced into Communist arms because they were rejected by the West."

An additional revelation concerns a watershed moment in the civil war: the strife, vividly rendered in Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*, that erupted in the Republican stronghold of Barcelona in early May 1937. It began with a clash between anarchists and Catalonian government forces at the city's anarchist-controlled telephone exchange and quickly led to three days of street fighting and five hundred deaths. The Barcelona troubles brought to a climax the burgeoning conflict between the Communists and the anarchists. The former sought a moderate Popular Front regime with strong middle-class support, as well as a unified regular army with which to fight Franco, while the latter favored voluntary militias and social revolution. The fighting in Barcelona ultimately led to a reorganization of the Republican govern-

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ment along communist lines and the eclipse of the anarchists. The roots of this "civil war within the civil war" have long perplexed historians. In *The Spanish Civil War*, Hugh Thomas cautioned against assuming that the communists provoked the anarchists; in a country with a powerful anarchist tradition, he believes, it "was the one contest which the Communists could not have been sure of winning." But Habeck and Radosh have unearthed a Comintern document urging the Spanish communists to establish "political hegemony" over the "proto-fascist" anarchists, and insisting that the former could not wait for a crisis but had to "hasten it, and if it will be necessary, to provoke it."

Not only did the Soviets encourage the suppression of the anarchist movement, Radosh and Habeck contend, they also infiltrated the International Brigades that came to the aid of the Republic. For years, Radosh has endeavored to demythologize the individuals who, in Auden's words, "floated over the oceans" and "walked the passes" to offer their lives to the Republic. In the Russian archives, Habeck discovered documents suggesting that, in many instances, the brigades were commanded not by homegrown antifascists from around the globe, but instead by Red Army officers. "So that there could be no charges of Russian Soviet participation in the actual fighting," they stated at the conference in Boston, "these were always men who had been born outside the current borders of the Soviet Union. Thus Emilio Kléber, the head of the 11th Brigade, was actually Moshe Zalmanovich Stern, a native of Bukovina who had fought for the Reds in the Russian Civil War and became a staff officer in the Soviet army." The presence of such men, they stated, transformed the International Brigades into nothing less than "a Soviet army within Spain."

The origin of the split between the Communists and the anarchists, and the question of Soviet involvement with the Spanish Communists, are both issues that lie close to the heart of a key historiographic debate: What sort of regime ruled the Spanish Republic in 1936? For historians such as Gabriel Jackson and Paul Preston, the Republic, despite its mistakes and shortcomings, was ultimately a pluralistic, democratizing entity—an "attempt to provide a better way of life for the humbler members of a repressive society," as Preston put it in *The Spanish Civil War* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986). In *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War* (Princeton, 1965), which has become the standard liberal account of the conflict, Jackson highlights the political moderation of the Republic, noting that "no Spanish government has done as much for the people since the time of Charles III in the eighteenth century."

Scholars such as Stanley Payne and the late Burnett Bolloten counter that the Republic was a cauldron of instability, chaos, and fratricide—a case study in "leftist extremism." Payne notes that between 1936 and 1939 "there were no elections, little or no attention to constitutional law, little attempt to achieve a government fully representative even of all the left." Furthermore, wrote Payne in *The Spanish Revolution* (Norton, 1969), "There was nothing in Franco's zone to equal the almost constant interparty murder that

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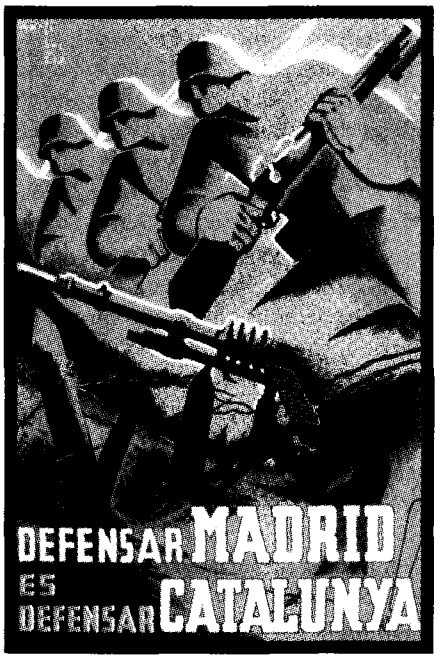
"I THINK IT'S FINE THAT FRANCO WON," RADOSH SAYS. "HIS REPRESSION WAS FIERCE, BUT NOT AS FIERCE AS IT PROBABLY WOULD HAVE BEEN UNDER THE RED TERROR."

went on under the People's Republic." Bolloten, a California real estate salesman who spent fifty years preparing his nearly eleven hundred page opus, *The Spanish Civil War: Revolution and Counter-revolution* (North Carolina, 1991), writes at considerable length about the communist takeover of the Republic and the suppression of the anarchist revolution. Radosh and Habeck promise to vindicate and augment Payne and Bolloten's views.

Radosh believes he and Habeck will provide a needed antidote to a still-virulent strain of leftist mythology surrounding the Spanish Republic. He is still fuming about the television coverage of the war's fiftieth anniversary in 1986. "All the major networks had big stories eulogizing the Abraham Lincoln Brigade that could have been written out of Communist Party headquarters in the 1940s," he scoffs. "They were *totally* pro-communist. I actually wrote letters to the president of CBS, the president of ABC. They've never heard of *Homage to Catalonia*."

At present, Radosh seems unconcerned that, with fifteen thousand books and pamphlets already published on the Spanish civil war, he is venturing into a historiographical minefield, one that remains deeply infused with political passion. His view of Franco, for instance, is certain to draw fire from scholars of twentieth-century Spain. "I think it's fine that Franco won," Radosh says casually. "His repression was fierce, but not as fierce as it probably would have been under the Red Terror." In fact, Radosh argues, Franco's regime had so mellowed by its end that it actually "paved the way for a transition to a truly democratic and popular republic."



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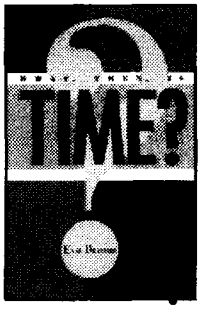

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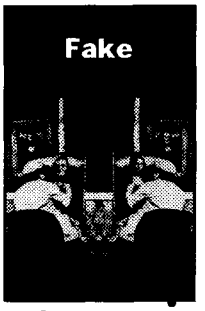

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Paul Preston, author of the highly-regarded *Franco: A Biography* (Basic Books, 1994), would no doubt balk at such suggestions. Preston, who recalls that Heinrich Himmler visited Spain in October 1940 and "was taken aback by the scale of the post–civil war repression," writes: "Judged in terms of his ability to stay in power, Franco's achievement was remarkable. However, the human cost in terms of the executions, the imprisonments, the torture, the lives destroyed by political exile and forced economic migration points to the exorbitant price paid by Spain for Franco's 'triumphs.'"

IT IS A COOL summer morning in suburban Maryland, and Radosh is recounting the life of his uncle, Irving Kreichman, who joined the American Communist Party, changed his last name to Keith, enrolled at the Lenin School in Moscow, and perished in Spain in the spring of 1938. Spread out on the dining room table are a series of letters Keith sent to Radosh's parents from the war zone. The letters make for melancholy reading. "I am really anxious to meet your son," Keith wrote Reuben Radosh, "but that will have to wait until the war is won." "After some nineteen months of war," he writes in another, "the main political problem is...that of strengthening the unity of the working class," by which he presumably meant the independent-minded anarchists and socialists. But he remained optimistic even as the Republic crumbled, writing in his final letter: "I'm happy—happier than I've ever been or than I know how to explain."

Reviewing these letters, Radosh sees Stalinist traits in his uncle, declaring at one point: "I think, based on his time at the Lenin school, he would have been recruited by the NKVD had he survived the war." Did he die in vain? "They all died in vain," insists Radosh. "Anyone killed in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade died in vain. They were not fighting for a democratic Republic. They were fighting for Stalin's foreign policy goals and for a Soviet Spain."

Was this true of Radosh's uncle? It depends on how you interpret the crumbling, weather-beaten letters. To some readers, they might depict an idealistic young man fighting against Franco and the German Condor Legion, and for an egalitarian Spain. To Radosh, they reveal a brainwashed apparatchik. Still, his fury recedes and his voice softens when he reflects on Irving Keith and his comrades in the Lincoln Brigade: "A lot of them were used, as Hemingway said. I would have much preferred that they didn't go, that they didn't fight for the Comintern. It didn't make any difference historically, and he would be alive."

Radosh's proclaimed desire to demolish "the last great myth of the left," his marked preference for Franco, and his insistence on interpreting the Spanish civil war as an episode in the history of communism—rather than fascism—will no doubt lead some of his critics to wonder if he has jettisoned scholarly detachment for polemical combat. And in doing so, they might wonder whether Radosh stands in the tradition of liberal anticommunists or of Red-baiting reactionaries. Like Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., he frets over the soul of the Democratic Party. In *Divided They*

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COURTESY RONALD RADOSH

Fell, which Bob Dole cited in his televised debate with Bill Clinton in 1996, Radosh laments the demise of the New Deal coalition that reigned supreme in the era of Franklin Roosevelt. But he is also a regular contributor to *Heterodoxy*, David Horowitz's right-wing magazine in whose pages nostalgia for FDR is scant and whose cover is routinely emblazoned with headlines such as WHY DID AIDS HAPPEN TO GAY MEN?; NITWIT FEMINISM; and LESBIAN RAPE. Radosh, who is in favor of abortion rights and trade unions but opposed to affirmative action, calls himself a "conservative Democrat."

Radosh's hero? "Sidney Hook is the man I admire most," he says. "He was right about everything: about the entire trajectory of the Cold War, about American foreign policy, about anticommunism." There are, indeed, instructive similarities between Radosh and Hook, a pragmatist philosopher who attempted a groundbreaking synthesis of Marx and Dewey in the 1930s before devoting much of his life to the anticommunist campaign. In a review of Hook's 1987 memoir, *Out of Step: An Unquiet Life in the 20th Century*, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. praised his intellectual contributions to politics, education, and philosophy, but criticized Hook's relentless anticommunism, "which consumed his life to the point that, like Aaron's rod, it has swallowed up nearly everything else." Concluded Schlesinger: "He is like Hawthorne's Hollingsworth, one of those men 'who have surrendered themselves to an overruling purpose.'"

The same might be said of Radosh. Whether he is making sarcastic remarks about Angela Davis, or bellowing about Stalinism at Town Hall, or grumbling about the benevolent treatment bestowed upon communists by the obituary desk of *The New York Times*, or fulminating about a "Soviet Spain," one feels the inexorable drive of an "overruling purpose." Like Hook, Radosh has put his considerable intelligence to work for a cause he deems noble. But what Schlesinger observed about Radosh's hero may also apply to Radosh: "There are indeed more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in the anti-Communist philosophy."

Scott Sherman's work has appeared in the *L.A. Times*, the *New York Observer*, and other publications. His profile of Jay Rosen, "The Public Defender," appeared in the April 1998 *LF*.

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continued from page 7

research and the presentation of both concrete facts and complex ideas.

One might think that to academics, issues of fact would be important. But many of Menchú's defenders contend that facts are irrelevant or merely politically relative. Cohen quotes a striking statement by Arturo Arias:

> "The defense [of the truthfulness of the book] is not to analyze the nature of the text itself to confirm supposed 'truths' or 'lies' as if this were a courtroom TV drama, but rather, to question why [we] grant more credibility to the prejudiced Protestant opinion of a third-person anthropologist who is male, white, tall, and gringo, than a Nobel laureate with a proven record of dedication in defense of the oppressed, whose only sin is to be female, short, of color, and Guatemalan.

While Arias's statement may be extreme in its outrageousness, it is, unfortunately, not atypical. Increasingly, professors are less interested in teaching students the skills to form their own judgments than they are in prescribing them with predigested political views.

JOHN LOBELL
Professor of Architecture
Pratt Institute

David Stoll pretends to be an objective anthropologist, but his chain saw analysis manifests his right wing ideological bent. He includes as a "legitimate Maya voice" the man with a large family who "owns three worn-out acres" and wants me to buy him a chain saw so he can cut down the last forest quickly." Never mind how much forest "three worn-out acres" would yield his chain saw and whether or not he indeed owns "the last forest." Stoll probably needed to retain the chain saw himself for his work on Rigoberta Menchú, which has found a ready audience among those eager to eliminate both the trees and the poor. Perhaps he should now tackle Mother Teresa; she (like Menchú) certainly expressed suspicious sympathies for the wretched of the earth.

CHARLEY SHIVELY
Professor of American Studies
University of Massachusetts at Boston

RAWLSOLATRY

Ben Rogers's article about John Rawls ["Behind the Veil," July–August] portrays philosophers as prone to hero worship and to the mythologizing of superstars—something like your basic teenager at a rock concert.

Rogers is right that "[s]tories about Rawls's moral and social instinct do, indeed, abound." But is it really so remarkable to take on short-term minor physical discomfort for the sake of a candidate at a dissertation defense or to interrupt a philosophical discussion in a bar to get a pad for taking notes?

Such pedestrian anecdotes about superstars appeal mainly to the groupie mentality. Perhaps I am prejudiced because the man who is the inspirational center of my own work—Sir Thomas Malory—may well have been a scoundrel in his personal life. But I doubt that hero worship is conducive to the critical thinking and independent judgment that philosophy requires.

I do not dispute the accuracy of Rogers's portrayal of contemporary philosophy. That is

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why the article made me embarrassed to be a philosopher.

FELICIA ACKERMAN
Professor of Philosophy
Brown University

OK COMPUTER

To judge from Clive Thompson's account of the Intelligent Essay Assessor ["New Word Order," July/August], Thomas Landauer and his boys have invented a machine to reward brownnosers.

Any social climber or scam artist who works the rich knows how to drop names: the names of the right people and schools; of hip restaurants, caterers, and resorts; of reputable boards and charities. Similarly, a calculating student parrots the words his professor likes.

If I wanted a high grade from Landauer or his diction tester, for example, I would load up my papers with the words "semantics," "cognitive," and "spatial."

ROBERT ERWIN
Amherst, MA

The notion of an essay-grading program must come as a shock to many traditional academics. However, those of us who have used and taught various versions of content analysis can only applaud this latest advance.

It is clear from Thompson's article that the creators of the Intelligent Essay Assessor (IEA) use an advanced form of contingency analysis in their program. In contingency analysis, a writer's evaluation of a subject is measured by the nearness or farness of given evaluative words or phrases from given subject nouns.

I myself have employed similar techniques to assess undergraduate papers. In one class, I found that female students clustered "love" and "sex" close together in the semantic space, but male students did not. In another class, at a Jesuit college, I controlled for the high school education of the undergraduates and found that those educated in parochial high schools grouped words such as "crime," "sin," and "drugs" quite differently than students educated in public high schools.

People who complain that scoring short-answer questions with content analysis rewards students who regurgitate assigned readings obviously have taught different undergraduates than I have. I would be overjoyed to discover that some students had indeed read the assignments, despite their limited vocabularies and fractured reading skills.

GEORGE V. ZITO
Professor Emeritus
Syracuse University

IS POSTMODERNISM PHILOSOPHY?

In his zeal to attack me, John McCumber [Letters, September] attributes to me a statement I never made. I never suggested that one should "not...take that Continental stuff seriously at all." I myself take it very seriously, as an area of research and teaching, and one which has benefited from analytical work. I did comment that most philosophers do not, with good reason, take postmodernism (à la Derrida and Lyotard) seriously. To equate postmodernism with Continental philosophy in toto is to do grotesque violence to an intellectual tradition Mr. McCumber claims to value.

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Pomona College presents a year-long celebration of the Borges Centenary. The great Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges was born in 1899 in Buenos Aires. Like Thomas Hardy, Borges, first known for his work in prose, considered himself first and last a poet, as he said once, "I shall stand or fall by my poems." Borges spent much of his last two decades speaking to audiences all over the world, and he was a writer-in-residence at several American universities. He died in 1986 in Geneva, where he had lived in his early youth. This centenary celebration of Borges' birth will feature readings, talks, and discussions by leading writers and scholars, and conclude with a dance highlighting tango music as well as the *milonga*, the Argentine folk ballad. An exhibit in Honnold Library of the Claremont Colleges will showcase early editions and manuscripts of Borges' poems, most of the material from the collection of Donald Yates. Featured speakers include: Dick Barnes, Robin Fiddian, Alicia Jurado, Robert Mezey, Donald Shaw, Donald Yates, Joanne M. Yates, and Howard Young. For more information, contact Robert Mezey, T: (909) 607-2809; email: <rmezey@pomona.edu>; or Richard Barnes, T: (909) 621-8873; email: <rbarnes@pomona.edu>

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New York, NY: October 7, 1999

CORPORATION IN MODERN SOCIETY

The Sloan Program for the Study of Business in Society at the George Washington University Law School presents its Inaugural Conference, "The Role of the Corporation in Modern Society." The Sloan Program is the first American multi-disciplinary think tank designed to examine the nature and purpose of the corporation in the US and the world. The Program will focus on the extent corporations are obligated to serve public interests beyond maximizing stockholder profit. Topics include: American Inequality and the Corporation, Psychological Perspectives on the Behavior of Corporate Actors, Callings and the Moral Meanings of Work, Moral Choice in Competitive Environments, and the Great Antitrust Experiment. These issues, and others, will be addressed from a global, multi-disciplinary perspective by speakers from a broad spectrum of disciplines including: law, philosophy, business ethics, economics, psychology, sociology, and history. The principal speakers are Ken Binmore, Robert Frank, Claude S. Fischer, Tom Tyler, Lou Galambos, J. Russell Muirhead, William Sullivan, Cally E. Jordan, and David Trickett. Commentary will be provided by leading corporate law professors as well as professors from other disciplines. For further information please contact Patricia Tobin, T: (202) 739-0629; email: <ptobin@main.nlc.gwu.edu>

Washington, DC: October 22–23, 1999

WOMEN OF APPALACHIA

"Women of Appalachia: Their Heritage and Accomplishments" will be held at Ohio University-Zanesville in conjunction with the Women's Studies Program of Ohio University. Papers are invited on cultural and socio-economic topics such as Appalachia in Children's Literature, Ethnicity, Folk Heritage and Literature, Foodways, Environmental Equity, Family Relationships, Gender Roles, Geographic Journeys, Handicrafts, Herbal Tradition, Media Image and Stereotypes, Migration, Oral History, Sustainable Communities, and Women in Politics. A conference proceedings will be published. Featured speakers include Jo Carson, Wilma Dykeman Stokely, Lynda Ann Ewen, Gerri Gribi and Jack Wright. Ticketed tours available to Longaberger Basket Homestead and Appalachian potteries. Contact Kathi Albertson T: (740) 453-0762; email: <albertso@ohiou.edu> Visit our Web site for information and on-line registration: www.zanesville.ohiou.edu/appalwomen.htm

Zanesville, OH: October 27–29, 1999

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POWER OF IMAGES: UNITED GERMANY

John F. Kennedy saying, "Ich bin ein Berliner" and the opening of the Berlin Wall have powerfully represented German division and reunification especially in the U.S. But what image of Germany can replace them in the year 2000? And what image do East and West Germans have of each other after ten years? The DEFA Film Library at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, with co-sponsors in the Five Colleges and from Germany, present an international conference on the tenth anniversary of the mass demonstrations in Berlin of 4 November 1989, one of the largest pro-democracy demonstrations in German history. Interdisciplinary academic discussions will be complemented by the video premiere of *The Fall of the Wall: The Path to German Reunification* (released by ICESTORM International) and a film series launched at the Northampton Film Festival (with a North American tour to follow): "Berlin, Divided Heaven: From the Ice Age to the Thaw." For information contact: DEFA Film Library, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Herter Hall, UMass Amherst, Amherst, MA 01003. T: (413) 545-6681, F: (413) 545-6995, email: defa@german.umass.edu; Web site: www.umass.edu/defa.

Northampton, MA: November 4–6, 1999

FOOD AND DRINK IN CONSUMER SOCIETIES

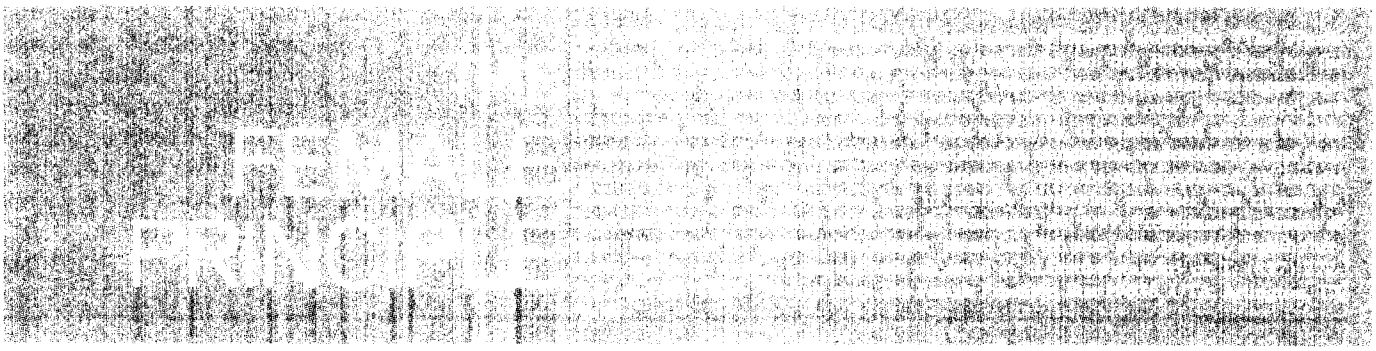
"Food and Drink in Consumer Societies" is the theme of a conference at the Hagley Museum and Library in Wilmington, Delaware on November 12 and 13, 1999. Sixteen papers will discuss consumption practices in 10 countries across four continents. Speakers include Sidney Mintz, Richard Wilk, Donna Gabaccia, and Bengt Ankarloo. Subjects covered include wine and French identity, nationalism and Belizean cuisine, contemporary Japanese food preferences, changing rural Mexican consumption practices, and the American "invention" of mass produced baby food. Other papers will assess the folklore of donuts in Canada, reception of canned goods in France, and marketing of guacamole in the United States. One panel will focus on the politics of food distribution in interwar Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union. For more information contact the Center for the History of Business, Technology, and Society, Hagley Museum and Library, PO Box 3630, Wilmington, DE 19807; T: (302) 658-2400 ext. 243; email: <crl@udel.edu>

Wilmington, DE: November 12–13, 1999

WOMEN AND POWER

Call for papers for an interdisciplinary conference at Emory University on psychoanalytic perspectives on women in relationships, groups and hierarchies. Psychoanalysis, a discipline critical in exploring the themes of power and gender, is beginning to address the more difficult theoretical and conceptual issues at stake in the investigation of women and social dynamics. This international symposium is the first in a series of conferences sponsored by the Committee on Women and Psychoanalysis in North America. We encourage a wide range of scholarly and clinical submissions in order to foster dialogue among various disciplines. Besides invited speakers and small discussion groups, the conference will consist of volunteered presentations, panels, paper sessions, and posters. Submit abstract of 250 words with title for paper/poster to: Women and Power, Emory University School of Medicine, CME Dept., 1462 Clifton Road, NE, Ste. 276, Atlanta, GA, 30322, USA. Deadline for submission is November 15, 1999. For registration information, email <rjordan@emory.edu>; web site: http://www.emory.edu/COLLEGE/ILA/ILA_divisions/Psychoanalytic_Studies.html

Atlanta, GA: February 25–27, 2000



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LEAST ACTION HERO

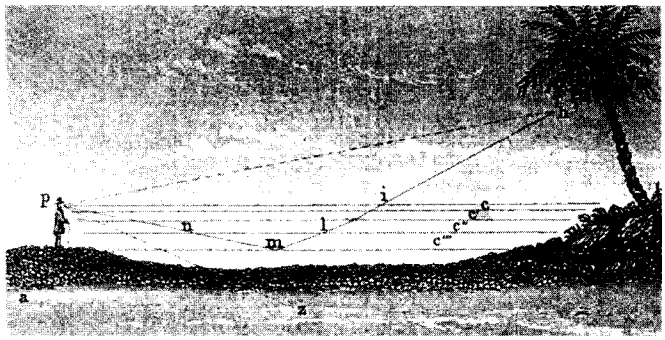
DOES A RAY OF LIGHT KNOW WHERE IT'S GOING?

SUPPOSE YOU ARE STANDING on the beach, at some distance from the water. You hear cries of distress. Looking to your left, you see someone drowning. You decide to rescue this person. Taking advantage of your ability to move faster on land than in water, you run to a point at the edge of the surf close to the drowning person, and from there you swim directly toward him. Your path is the quickest one to the swimmer—but it is not a straight line. Instead, it consists of two straight-line segments, with an angle between them at the point where you enter the water.

Now consider a beam of light. Like you, it moves faster through air than through water. If it starts from point A in the air and ends at point B in the water, it will not travel in a straight line. Rather, it will take a straight path from point A to the edge of the water, turn a bit, and then follow another straight path to point B in the water. (This is called refraction.) Just as you did when rescuing the drowning person, the light beam considers its destination, then chooses the trajectory that gets it there in the least time, given its differential rate of progress in the two elements through which it must travel.

But this can't be right, can it? Our explanation for the route taken by the light beam—first formulated by Pierre de Fermat in the seventeenth century as the principle of least time—assumes that the light somehow knows where it is going in advance and that it acts purposefully in getting there. This is what's called a teleological explanation.

The idea that things in nature behave in goal-directed ways goes back to Aristotle. A final cause, in Aristotle's physics, is the end or *telos* toward which a thing undergoing change is aiming. To explain a change by its final cause is to explain it in terms of the result it achieves. An efficient cause, by contrast, is that which initiates the process of change. To explain a change by its efficient cause is to explain it in terms of prior conditions.



One view of scientific progress is that it consists in replacing teleological (final cause) explanations with mechanistic (efficient cause) explanations. The Darwinian revolution, for instance, can be seen in this way: Traits that seemed to have been purposefully designed, like the giraffe's long neck, were re-explained as the outcome of a blind process of chance variation and natural selection.

Actually, pretty much the opposite has happened in physics. In 1744, the French mathematician and astronomer Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis put forward a grand teleological principle called the law of least action, which was inspired by (and possibly stolen from) Leibniz. A more abstract version of Fermat's least-time principle, Maupertuis's law said, in essence, that nature always achieves its ends in the most economical way. And what was this "action" that nature supposedly economizes on? As characterized by Maupertuis, it was a mathematical amalgam of mass, velocity, and distance.

In its original form, the law of least action was too vague to be of much use to science. But it was soon sharpened by the great eighteenth-century mathematician Joseph Lagrange. In 1788, a century after Newton's *Principia*, Lagrange published his celebrated *Mécanique analytique*, which expressed the Newtonian system in terms of the law of least action. In the next century, the Irishman William Rowan Hamilton cast the same final-cause idea into a form—which became known as Hamilton's principle—from which all of Newtonian mechanics and optics could be deduced.

Since then, the law of least action has, in its various guises, continued to be extraordinarily powerful. Einstein's equations of relativity, which replaced Newton's laws, follow from an action principle not unlike the one Maupertuis set forth. "The highest and most coveted aim of physical science is to condense all natural phenomena which have been observed and are still to be observed into one simple principle," observed Max Planck, the founder of quantum theory. "Amid the more or less general laws which mark the achievements of physical science during the course of the last centuries, the principle of least action is perhaps that which...may claim to come nearest to this ideal final aim of theoretical research."

If the law of least action (or a modern version of it) really does stand at the pinnacle of science, what does this say about the world? Does it mean that there is a purposeful intelligence guiding all things with a minimal expenditure of effort, as Maupertuis, Lagrange, and Hamilton believed?

We have one set of equations that explains the world in terms of efficient causes. We have another set that explains it in terms of final causes. The second set may be simpler than the first, and more fruitful in leading to new discoveries. But the two describe the same state of affairs and yield the same predictions. Therefore, as Planck said, "on this occasion everyone has to decide for himself which point of view he thinks is the basic one." You can be a teleologist if you wish. You can be a mechanist if that better suits your fancy. Or you may be left wondering whether this is yet another metaphysical distinction that does not make a difference.

JIM HOLT

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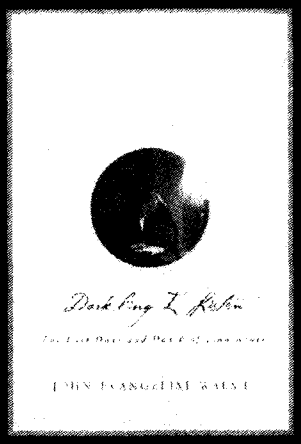

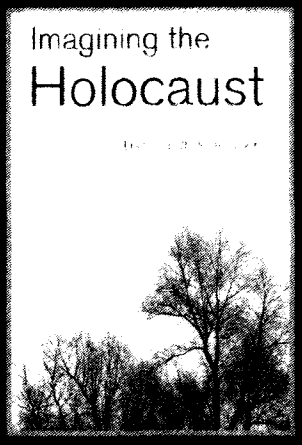

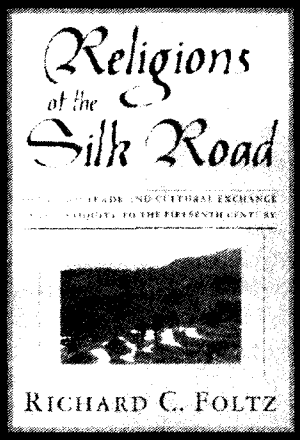

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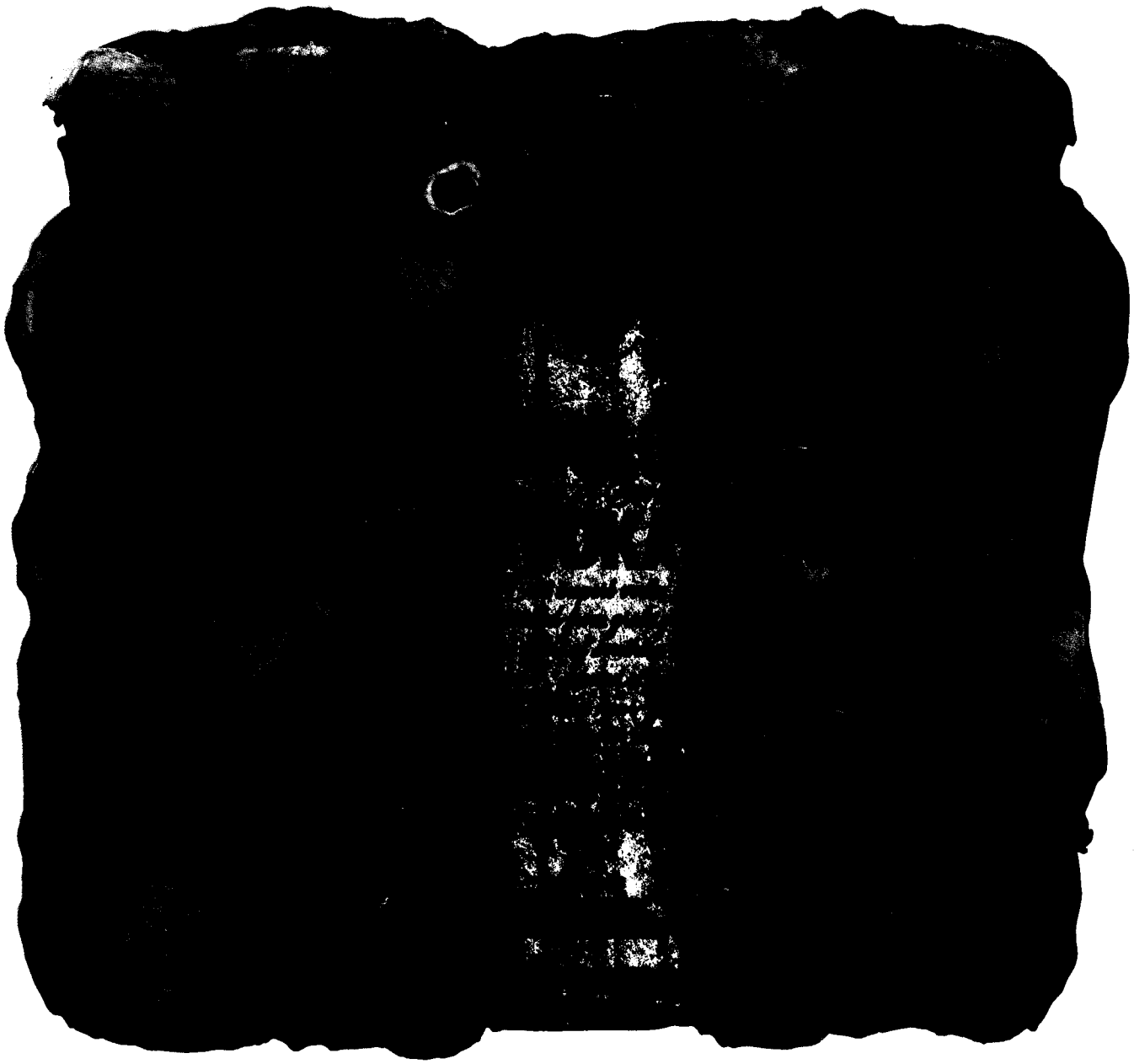

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